EXTRACTS FROM LIVY

PART I

H. LEE-WARNER

CLARENDON PRESS SERIES

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John Helher

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EXTRACTS FROM LIVY

WITH ENGLISH NOTES AND A MAP

BY

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PART I

THE CAUDINE DISASTER

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INTRODUCTION.

The series of which this little volume forms the first instalment is meant to illustrate the principal features of Rome's external history, and of Livy's manner of dealing with it. The Caudine Disaster, Hannibal's Campaign in Italy, and the Roman Subjugation of Macedonia, are typical events in the three periods of the history of the Roman republic—the struggle for dominion over Italy, for dominion over the Western Seas, for dominion over the civilised world. Papirius, Hannibal, and Aemilius are characters worth studying. And though as treated by Livy it cannot be denied that there is a certain sameness in the rhetorical manner in which they all express their views, this is not a fault of style so much as of the age in which he lived. We can easily excuse where we are so deeply interested. Livy's narrative, glowing with all the colours of fancy, can no more deceive us into mistaking it for a page of history, than we could mistake Henry V in Shakespeare for Henry V in Holinshed. In writing, his main object is to be effective. He shows causes only so far as they help to give colour to a deduction which he has already drawn in his own mind, and chooses his facts only as materials for eloquence. If we want to find the philosophy of history as conceived by Livy, we must look in the discourses. The bitter regrets expressed by the conquered nations, as they felt the yoke contain our historian's views as to why they were conquered; the exhortations of the generals as they led their men into the field are as much addressed to the Romans of the Augustan age as they could have been to the practical yeomen of earlier times; the broken heart of a Hannibal pours out its laments against the imbecility of the home-government as the Greeks of old times told out their dreams to the sun.

And so too with his narrative. The oratorical element never deserts him. As M. Taine has well remarked, if we read only six lines of Livy, involuntarily our voice gets louder, our tones more argumentative; we defend a cause; we deliver an harangue.

Less diffuse than Herodotus, less measured than Xenophon, less manly than Caesar, less critical than Thucydides, Livy stands in a place of his own; he is the orator-historian.

The history of the Latin and Samnite Wars is the counterpart of the history of our own border warfare. Dressed up in Livy's uncritical but graphic style, the family tales of Rome's best blood, whilst they do not bear upon them the impress of candour and truth, still owe as much to the declamation schools of the Augustan age, as the early history of England does to Shakespeare's dramas. The myths of Romulus and Numa cannot but remind us of Lear and Cymbeline; the forced oratory of Postumius and Pontius, evidently educated in the same school of rhetoric, recalls to us the John and Philip of our own poet; and the scorn for the tribunes and contempt of the people which Livy's history breathes, are as necessary to the complete development of his style as the intemperate pride of Coriolanus and the un-Roman eloquence of Mark Antony are indispensable to Shakespeare's Roman trilogy. It is therefore not surprising that Livy is best at depicting martial events like the following; individual heroism and brilliant generosity are best seen in the uneven flow of tempestuous scenes; the grand epic of the war with Hannibal, and the tale of the second Samnite War must have been read by the young Papirii and Nerones with the same zest with which we have all read the 'Tales of a Grandfather.' Possibly, too, they blushed for their countrymen, as they read the treatment of Pontius and his compatriots, and were proud to point in preference to these latter as the ancestors of the united empire of Italy, in the same way that English boys extend their sympathies to William Wallace and Robert the Bruce. The author of the 'Lex Plautia Papiria' certainly did more for his country than Papirius Cursor; and if the strong centralisation of Roman ideas had not fettered the minds of the Augustan age of writers, Livy might have found Pontius a more manageable hero than Postumius.

The few chapters reprinted in the following pages narrate the most striking events in the Samnite War, a contest which, lasting full fifty years (343–290 B.C.), was only interrupted by occasional truces, and may be fairly styled the heroic age of Rome. The struggle with Veii about fifty years before (395 B.C.) was the first occasion on which the Romans organized a standing army and paid their troops. The subjugation of the Samnites now, heralded by the dissolution of the Latin confederacy (340 B.C.), was the first step to the Italian empire. 'Maiora hinc bella narranda sunt,' says Livy, as he approaches the subject, and certainly the perseverance of the Samnites, the generalship and tactics which they brought into the field, merit this preface. Both sides aimed at each other's hearts, the Samnites indeed with a strange want of settled purpose, and not sufficiently assisted by the other nationalities

in whose interest also they were fighting; the Romans remorselessly pushing on, and never losing any ground which they once had gained. Once conquered, the territory became their own; the inhabitants of the dismal swamps of the Pontine Marsh, and the wild passes of the Matese, were made to feel the grasp of the Roman gauntlet just as tightly as the Latin tillers or the Samnite shepherds. The Via Appia (312 B.C.) was not the least element in the greatness of purpose and solidity of execution with which Rome held down the communes of the Samnite confederacy.

The Umbrian, or Eastern stock, of whom the Samnites were as decidedly the superior people as the Latins were of the Western, had advanced towards the south of Italy, rather later than the Latins, keeping in general upon the heights, because they found the Latins in possession of the plains. In some cases even, as along the Apulian coast, they had left the native population, the Iapygians, with no more than occasional molestation. The banks of the rivers Sagrus and Tifernus, the region of Beneventum, the frontiers of Apulia, the borders of lake Fucinus, were all secluded parts of Italy; and to this seclusion was probably owing the growth of these people, who were thus saved from collision with the Etruscans by Rome, with the Latins by their mountain heights, with the Greeks by their want of seaboard. Thus, with little or no political connection with one another, except in times of danger from without, and in a state of complete isolation from the rest of Italy, they had exercised no influence hitherto on the history of the Peninsula.

It must have been long evident, however, to both Samnite and Roman, that they would have sooner or later to contest the supremacy of Italy. Whether the Samnites or the Romans were most aggressive on the Liris or whether the Liris or the Greek city of Palaeopolis was the first scene of their complications, matters little: it was quite certain that the limestone ridges of the Matese, commanding, as they did, the quickest approach to Apulia and the South, would be an object of desire to the Roman legions. On these hills, then, most of which rise as high as Scafell and Helvellyn, and, clothed in beechwood forests, remind us of the Jura range, the duel for the leadership of Italy was being fought, at the time when Alexander the Great was winning his battles in Asia.

Rugby, Aug. 1873.

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Lee Warner's Extracts from Livy Part I

THE CAUDINE DISASTER.

B.C. 321—320.

I. SAMNITES DRIVEN TO DESPAIR.

B.C. 321.

1. *Return of the Samnite Embassy from Rome.*

SEQUITUR hunc annum nobilis clade Romana Caudina pax T. Veturio Calvino, Sp. Postumio consulibus. Samnites eo anno imperatorem G. Pontium Herennii filium habuerunt, patre longe prudentissimo natum, primum ipsum bellatorem ducemque. Is, ubi legati, qui ad dedendas res missi erant, pace infecta redierunt, 'Ne nihil actum' inquit 'hac legatione censeatis, expiatum est, quicquid ex foedere rupto irarum in nos caelestium fuit. Satis scio, quibuscunque diis cordi fuit subigi nos ad necessitatem dedendi res, quae ab nobis ex foedere repetitae fuerant, iis non fuisse cordi tam superbe ab Romanis foederis expiationem spretam. Quid enim ultra fieri ad placandos deos mitigandosque homines potuit, quam quod nos fecimus? Res hostium in praeda captas, quae belli iure nostrae videbantur, remisimus; auctores belli, quia vivos non potuimus, perfunctos

iam fato dedidimus; bona eorum, ne quid ex contagione noxae remaneret penes nos, Romam portavimus. Quid ultra tibi, Romane, quid foederi, quid diis arbitris foederis debeo? Quem tibi tuarum irarum, quem meorum suppliciorum iudicem feram? Neminem neque populum neque privatum fugio. Quod si nihil cum potentiore iuris humani relinquitur inopi, at ego ad deos vindices intolerandae superbiae confugiam et precabor, ut iras suas vertant in eos, quibus non suae redditae res, non alienae accumulatae satis sint; quorum saevitiam non mors noxiorum, non deditio exanimatorum corporum, non bona sequentia domini deditionem exsatient; placari nequeant, nisi hauriendum sanguinem laniandaque viscera nostra praebuerimus. Iustum est bellum, Samnites, quibus necessarium, et pia arma, quibus nulla nisi in armis relinquitur spes. Proinde, quum rerum humanarum maximum momentum sit, quam propitiis rem, quam adversis agant diis, pro certo habete, priora bella adversus deos magis quam homines gessisse, hoc, quod instat, ducibus ipsis diis gesturos.'

2. *Stratagem of Gaius Pontius.*

Haec non laeta magis quam vera vaticinatus, exercitu educto, circa Caudium castra, quam potest occultissime, locat. Inde ad Calatiam, ubi iam consules Romanos castraque esse audiebat, milites decem pastorum habitu mittit, pecoraque diversos, alium alibi, haud procul Romanis pascere iubet praesidiis; ubi inciderint in praedatores, ut idem omnibus sermo constet, legiones Samnitium in Apulia esse, Luceriam omnibus copiis circumsedere, nec procul abesse, quin vi capiant. Iam is et rumor ante de industria vulgatus venerat ad Romanos, sed fidem auxere captivi, eo maxime, quod sermo inter omnes congruebat.

3. *How to reach Luceria. The Valley of Arpaja.*

Haud erat dubium, quin Lucerinis opem Romanus ferret, bonis ac fidelibus sociis, simul ne Apulia omnis ad praesentem terrorem deficeret; ea modo, qua irent, consultatio fuit. Duae ad Luceriam ferebant viae, altera praeter oram superi maris, patens apertaque, sed quanto tutior, tanto fere longior, altera per Furculas Caudinas, brevior; sed ita natus locus est: Saltus duo alti, angusti silvosique, sunt, montibus circa perpetuis inter se iuncti. Iacet inter eos satis patens clausus in medio campus herbidus aquosusque, per quem medium iter est; sed antequam venias ad eum, intrandae primae angustiae sunt et aut eadem, qua te insinuaveris, retro via repetenda aut, si ire porro pergas, per alium saltum artiorem impeditioremque evadendum.

4. *The Romans enter the Trap.*

In eum campum via alia per cavam rupem Romani demisso agmine quum ad alias angustias protinus pergerent, saeptas deiectu arborum saxorumque ingentium obiacente mole invenere. Quum fraus hostilis apparuisset, praesidium etiam in summo saltu conspicitur.

5. *'Those behind cry Forward, and those before cry Back.'*

Citati inde retro, qua venerant, pergunt repetere viam; eam quoque clausam sua obice armisque inveniunt. Sistunt inde gradum sine ullius imperio, stuporque omnium animos ac velut torpor quidam insolitus membra tenet, intuentesque alii alios, quum alterum quisque compotem magis mentis ac consilii ducerent, diu immobiles silent; deinde, ubi praetoria consulum erigi videre et expedire quosdam utilia operi,

quanquam ludibrio fore munientes perditis rebus ac spe omni adempta cernebant, tamen, ne culpam malis adderent, pro se quisque, nec hortante ullo nec imperante, ad muniendum versi castra propter aquam vallo circumdant, sua ipsi opera laboremque irritum, praeterquam quod hostes superbe increpabant, cum miserabili confessione eludentes.

6. '*But the Consul's brow was sad, and the Consul's speech was low.*'

Ad consules maestos, ne advocantes quidem in consilium, quando nec consilio nec auxilio locus esset, sua sponte legati ac tribuni conveniunt, militesque ad praetorium versi opem, quam vix dii immortales ferre poterant, ab ducibus exposcunt. Querentes magis quam consultantes nox oppressit, quum pro ingenio quisque fremerent, alius: 'Per obices viarum, per adversa montium, per silvas, qua ferri arma poterunt, eamus; modo ad hostem pervenire liceat, quem per annos iam prope triginta vincimus: omnia aequa et plana erunt Romano in perfidum Samnitem pugnanti;' alius: 'Quo aut qua eamus? num montes moliri sede sua paramus? Dum haec imminebunt iuga, qua tu ad hostem venias? Armati, inermes, fortes, ignavi, pariter omnes capti atque victi sumus; ne ferrum quidem ad bene moriendum oblaturus est hostis; sedens bellum conficiet.' His in vicem sermonibus qua cibi, qua quietis immemor nox traducta est.

II. THE TABLES ARE TURNED ON THE ROMANS.

1. *The Samnite Nestor's advice.*

Ne Samnitibus quidem consilium in tam laetis suppetebat rebus; itaque universi Herennium Pontium, patrem impera-

toris, per litteras consulendum censent. Iam is gravis annis non militaribus solum, sed civilibus quoque abscesserat muneribus; in corpore tamen affecto vigebat vis animi consiliique. Is ubi accepit, ad Furculas Caudinas inter duos saltus clausos esse exercitus Romanos, consultus ab nuntio filii censuit, omnes inde quam primum inviolatos dimittendos. Quae ubi spreta sententia est, iterumque eodem remeante nuntio consulebatur, censuit, ad unum omnes interficiendos. Quae ubi tam discordia inter se velut ex ancipiti oraculo responsa data sunt, quanquam filius ipse in primis iam animum quoque patris consenuisse in affecto corpore rebatur, tamen consensu omnium victus est, ut ipsum in consilium acciret.

2. '*Living friends better than dead foes.*'

Nec gravatus senex plaustro in castra dicitur advectus, vocatusque in consilium ita ferme locutus esse, ut nihil sententiae suae mutaret, causas tantum adiiceret: priore se consilio, quod optimum duceret, cum potentissimo populo per ingens beneficium perpetuam firmare pacem amicitiamque; altero consilio in multas aetates, quibus, amissis duobus exercitibus, haud facile receptura vires Romana res esset, bellum differre; tertium nullum consilium esse. Quum filius aliique principes percontando exsequerentur, quid, si media via consilii caperetur, ut et dimitterentur incolumes et leges iis iure belli victis imponerentur, 'Ista quidem sententia' inquit 'ea est, quae neque amicos parat nec inimicos tollit. Servate modo, quos ignominia irritaveritis; ea est Romana gens, quae victa quiescere nesciat. Vivet semper in pectoribus illorum, quicquid istuc praesens necessitas inusserit, nec eos ante multiplices poenas expetitas a vobis quiescere sinet.'

3. *Half-measures of Gaius Pontius.*

Neutra sententia accepta, Herennius domum e castris est avectus; et in castris Romanis quum frustra multi conatus ad erumpendum capti essent et iam omnium rerum inopia esset, victi necessitate legatos mittunt, qui primum pacem aequam peterent; si pacem non impetrarent, uti provocarent ad pugnam. Tum Pontius debellatum esse respondit, et, quoniam ne victi quidem ac capti fortunam fateri scirent, inermes cum singulis vestimentis sub iugum missurum; alias condiciones pacis aequas victis ac victoribus fore: si agro Samnitium decederetur, coloniae abducerentur, suis inde legibus Romanum ac Samnitem aequo foedere victurum; his condicionibus paratum se esse foedus cum consulibus ferire; si quid eorum displiceat, legatos redire ad se vetuit.

4. *The Romans determine to live for revenge.*

Haec quum legatio renuntiaretur, tantus gemitus omnium subito exortus est tantaque maestitia incessit, ut non gravius accepturi viderentur, si nuntiaretur, omnibus eo loco mortem oppetendam esse. Quum diu silentium fuisset, nec consules aut pro foedere tam turpi aut contra foedus tam necessarium hiscere possent, tum L. Lentulus, qui tum princeps legatorum virtute atque honoribus erat, 'Patrem meum' inquit, 'consules, saepe audivi memorantem, se in Capitolio unum non fuisse auctorem senatui redimendae auro a Gallis civitatis, quando nec fossa valloque ab ignavissimo ad opera ac muniendum hoste clausi essent et erumpere, si non sine magno periculo, tamen sine certa pernicie possent. Quod si, ut illis decurrere ex Capitolio armatis in hostem licuit, quo saepe modo obsessi in obsidentes eruperunt, ita nobis aequo aut iniquo loco dimicandi tantummodo cum hoste

copia esset, non mihi paterni animi indoles in consilio dando deesset. Equidem mortem pro patria praeclaram esse fateor, et me vel devovere pro populo Romano legionibusque vel in medios me immittere hostes paratus sum; sed hic patriam video, hic quicquid Romanarum legionum est; quae nisi pro se ipsis ad mortem ruere volunt, quid habent, quod morte sua servent? Tecta urbis, dicat aliquis, et moenia et eam turbam, a qua urbs incolitur. Immo hercule produntur ea omnia, deleto hoc exercitu, non servantur. Quis enim ea tuebitur? Imbellis videlicet atque inermis multitudo. Tam hercule, quam a Gallorum impetu defendit. An a Veiis exercitum Camillumque ducem implorabunt? Hic omnes spes opesque sunt, quas servando patriam servamus, dedendo ad necem patriam deserimus ac prodimus. At foeda atque ignominiosa deditio est. Sed ea caritas patriae est, ut tam ignominia eam quam morte nostra, si opus sit, servemus. Subeatur ergo ista, quantacunque est, indignitas et pareatur necessitati, quam ne dii quidem superant. Ite, consules, redimite armis civitatem, quam auro maiores vestri redemerunt.'

5. *The Consuls exceed their powers.*

Consules profecti ad Pontium in colloquium, quum de foedere victor agitaret, negarunt iniussu populi foedus fieri posse, nec sine fetialibus caerimoniaque alia sollemni. Itaque non, ut vulgo credunt Claudiusque etiam scribit, foedere pax Caudina, sed per sponsionem facta est. Quid enim aut sponsoribus in foedere opus esset aut obsidibus, ubi precatione res transigitur, per quem populum fiat, quo minus legibus dictis stetur, ut eum ita Iuppiter feriat, quemadmodum a fetialibus porcus feriatur. Spoponderunt consules, legati, quaestores, tribuni militum, nominaque omnium, qui

spoponderunt, exstant, ubi, si ex foedere acta res esset, praeterquam duorum fetialium non exstarent; et propter necessariam foederis dilationem obsides etiam sexcenti equites imperati, qui capite luerent, si pacto non staretur. . Tempus inde statutum tradendis obsidibus exercituque inermi mittendo.

6. *No Insult worse than an Enemy's Mercy.*

Redintegravit luctum in castris consulum adventus, ut vix ab iis abstinerent manus, quorum temeritate in eum locum deducti essent, quorum ignavia foedius inde, quam venissent, abituri: illis non ducem locorum, non exploratorem fuisse; beluarum modo caecos in foveam lapsos. Alii alios intueri; contemplari arma mox tradenda et inermes futuras dextras obnoxiaque corpora hosti; proponere sibimet ipsi ante oculos iugum hostile et ludibria victoris et vultus superbos et per armatos inermium iter, inde foedi agminis miserabilem viam per sociorum urbes, reditum in patriam ad parentes, quo saepe ipsi maioresque eorum triumphantes venissent: se solos sine vulnere, sine ferro, sine acie victos; sibi non stringere licuisse gladios, non manum cum hoste conferre; sibi nequicquam animos datos. Haec frementibus hora fatalis ignominiae advenit, omnia tristiora experiundo factura, quam quae praeceperant animis.

7. *The Yoke.*

Iam primum cum singulis vestimentis inermes extra vallum exire iussi, et primi traditi obsides atque in custodiam abducti. Tum a consulibus abire lictores iussi paludamentaque detracta; id tantam inter ipsos, qui paulo ante eos exsecrantes dedendos lacerandosque censuerant, miserationem fecit, ut suae quisque condicionis oblitus ab illa defor-

matione tantae maiestatis velut ab nefando spectaculo averteret oculos. Primi consules prope seminudi sub iugum missi; tum ut quisque gradu proximus erat, ita ignominiae obiectus; tum deinceps singulae legiones. Circumstabant armati hostes, exprobrantes eludentesque; gladii etiam plerisque intentati, et vulnerati quidam necatique, si vultus eorum indignitate rerum acrior victorem offendisset. Ita traducti sub iugum et, quod paene gravius erat, per hostium oculos quum e saltu evasissent, etsi velut ab inferis extracti tum primum lucem adspicere visi sunt, tamen ipsa lux ita deforme intuentibus agmen omni morte tristior fuit.

III. THE RETURN OF THE CONQUERED.

1. *How the Allies receive them.*

Itaque quum ante noctem Capuam pervenire possent, incerti de fide sociorum, et quod pudor praepediebat, circa viam haud procul Capua omnium egena corpora humi prostraverunt. Quod ubi est Capuam nuntiatum, evicit miseratio iusta sociorum superbiam ingenitam Campanis. Confestim insignia sua consulibus, fasces, lictores, arma, equos, vestimenta, commeatus militibus benigne mittunt; et venientibus Capuam cunctus senatus populusque obviam egressus iustis omnibus hospitalibus privatisque et publicis fungitur officiis. Neque illis sociorum comitas vultusque benigni et alloquia non modo sermonem elicere, sed ne ut oculos quidem attollerent aut consolantes amicos contra intuerentur, efficere poterant; adeo super maerorem pudor quidam fugere colloquia et coetus hominum cogebat.

2. *Ofillius Calavius' augury.*

Postero die iuvenes nobiles, missi a Capua, ut proficiscentes ad finem Campanum prosequerentur, reverterunt, vocatique in curiam percontantibus maioribus natu, multo sibi maestiores et abiectioris animi visos, retulerunt: adeo silens ac prope mutum agmen incessisse; iacere indolem illam Romanam, ablatosque cum armis animos; non reddere salutem salutantibus, non dare responsum, non hiscere quemquam prae metu potuisse, tanquam ferentibus adhuc cervicibus iugum, sub quod emissi essent; habere Samnites victoriam non praeclaram solum, sed etiam perpetuam; cepisse enim eos non Romam, sicut ante Gallos, sed, quod multo bellicosius fuerit, Romanam virtutem ferociamque. Quum haec dicerentur audirenturque, et deploratum paene Romanum nomen in concilio sociorum fidelium esset, dicitur Ofillius Calavius Ovii filius, clarus genere factisque, tum etiam aetate verendus, longe aliter se habere rem dixisse: silentium illud obstinatum fixosque in terram oculos et surdas ad omnia solatia aures et pudorem intuendae lucis ingentem molem irarum ex alto animi cientis indicia esse. Aut Romana se ignorare ingenia, aut silentium illud Samnitibus flebiles brevi clamores gemitusque excitaturum, Caudinaeque pacis aliquanto Samnitibus quam Romanis tristiorem memoriam fore; quippe suos quemque eorum animos habiturum, ubicunque congressuri sint; saltus Caudinos non ubique Samnitibus fore.

3. *How Rome receives them.*

Iam Romae etiam sua infamis clades erat. Obsessos primum audierunt; tristior deinde ignominiosae pacis magis quam periculi nuntius fuit. Ad famam obsidionis delectus

haberi coeptus erat; dimissus deinde auxiliorum apparatus, postquam deditionem tam foede factam acceperunt; extemploque sine ulla publica auctoritate consensum in omnem formam luctus est. Tabernae circa forum clausae iustitiumque in foro sua sponte coeptum prius quam indictum; lati clavi, anuli aurei positi; paene maestior exercitu ipso civitas esse; nec ducibus solum atque auctoribus sponsoribusque pacis irasci, sed innoxios etiam milites odisse et negare urbe tectisve accipiendos. Quam concitationem animorum fregit adventus exercitus etiam iratis miserabilis. Non enim tanquam in patriam revertentes ex insperato incolumes, sed captorum habitu vultuque ingressi sero in urbem ita se in suis quisque tectis abdiderunt, ut postero atque insequentibus diebus nemo eorum forum aut publicum adspicere vellet. Consules in privato abditi nihil pro magistratu agere, nisi quod expressum senatus consulto est, ut dictatorem dicerent comitiorum causa. Q. Fabium Ambustum dixerunt, et P. Aelium Paetum magistrum equitum; quibus vitio creatis suffecti M. Aemilius Papus dictator, L. Valerius Flaccus magister equitum. Nec per eos comitia habita; et quia taedebat populum omnium magistratuum eius anni, res ad interregnum rediit. Interreges Q. Fabius Maximus, M. Valerius Corvus. Is consules creavit Q. Publilium Philonem et L. Papirium Cursorem iterum, haud dubio consensu civitatis, quod nulli ea tempestate duces clariores essent.

4. *Debate on the peace in Rome. Speech of the late Consul.*

Quo creati sunt die, eo sic enim placuerat patribus magistratum inierunt, sollemnibusque senatus consultis perfectis, de pace Caudina retulerunt; et Publilius, penes quem fasces erant, 'Dic, Sp. Postumi' inquit. Qui ubi surrexit, eodem illo vultu, quo sub iugum missus erat, 'Haud sum ignarus'

inquit, 'consules, ignominiae, non honoris causa me primum excitatum iussumque dicere, non tanquam senatorem, sed tanquam reum qua infelicis belli, qua ignominiosae pacis. Ego tamen, quando neque de noxa nostra neque de poena retulistis, omissa defensione, quae non difficillima esset apud haud ignaros fortunarum humanarum necessitatiumque, sententiam de eo, de quo retulistis, paucis peragam, quae sententia testis erit, mihine an legionibus vestris pepercerim, quum me seu turpi seu necessaria sponsione obstrinxi; qua tamen, quando iniussu populi facta est, non tenetur populus Romanus, nec quicquam ex ea praeterquam corpora nostra debentur Samnitibus. Dedamur per fetiales nudi vinctique; exsolvamus religione populum, si qua obligavimus, ne quid divini humanive obstet, quo minus iustum piumque de integro ineatur bellum. Interea consules exercitum scribere, armare, educere placet, nec prius ingredi hostium fines, quam omnia iusta in deditione nostra perfecta erunt. Vos, dii immortales, precor quaesoque, si vobis non fuit cordi, Sp. Postumium, T. Veturium consules cum Samnitibus prospere bellum gerere, at vos satis habeatis vidisse nos sub iugum missos, vidisse sponsione infami obligatos, videre nudos vinctosque hostibus deditos, omnem iram hostium nostris capitibus excipientes; novos consules legionesque Romanas ita cum Samnite gerere bellum velitis, ut omnia ante nos consules bella gesta sunt.'

5. *Honour more than Affection or Justice.*

Quae ubi dixit, tanta simul admiratio miseratioque viri incessit omnes, ut modo vix crederent, illum eundem esse Sp. Postumium, qui auctor tam foedae pacis fuisset, modo miserarentur, quod vir talis etiam praecipuum apud hostes supplicium passurus esset ob iram diremptae pacis. Quum

omnes laudibus modo prosequentes virum in sententiam eius pedibus irent, tentata paulisper intercessio est ab L. Livio et Q. Maelio tribunis plebis, qui neque exsolvi religione populum aiebant deditione sua, nisi omnia Samnitibus, qualia apud Caudium fuissent, restituerentur, neque se pro eo, quod spondendo pacem servassent exercitum populi Romani, poenam ullam meritos esse, neque ad extremum, quum sacrosancti essent, dedi hostibus violarive posse.

6. *The Advice of the Consul.*

Tum Postumius 'Interea dedite' inquit 'profanos nos, quos salva religione potestis; dedetis deinde et istos sacrosanctos, quum primum magistratu abierint, sed, si me audiatis, priusquam dedantur, hic in comitio virgis caesos, hanc iam ut intercalatae poenae usuram habeant. Nam quod deditione nostra negant exsolvi religione populum, id istos magis, ne dedantur, quam quia ita se res habeat, dicere, quis adeo iuris fetialium expers est, qui ignoret? Neque ego infitias eo, patres conscripti, tam sponsiones quam foedera sancta esse apud eos homines, apud quos iuxta divinas religiones fides humana colitur; sed iniussu populi nego quicquam sanciri posse, quod populum teneat. An, si eadem superbia, qua sponsionem istam expresserunt nobis Samnites, coegissent nos verba legitima dedentium urbes nuncupare, deditum populum Romanum vos tribuni diceretis, et hanc urbem, templa, delubra, fines, aquas Samnitium esse? Omitto deditionem, quoniam de sponsione agitur; quid tandem, si spopondissemus, urbem hanc relicturum populum Romanum? si incensurum? si magistratus, si senatum, si leges non habiturum? si sub regibus futurum? Di meliora, inquis. Atqui non indignitas rerum sponsionis vinculum levat; si quid est, in quod obligari populus possit,

in omnia potest. Et ne illud quidem, quod quosdam forsitan moveat, refert, consul an dictator an praetor spoponderit. Et hoc ipsi etiam Samnites iudicaverunt, quibus non fuit satis, consules spondere, sed legatos, quaestores, tribunos militum spondere coegerunt. Nec a me nunc quisquam quaesiverit, quid ita spoponderim, quum id nec consulis ius esset, nec illis spondere pacem, quae mei non erat arbitrii, nec pro vobis, qui nihil mandaveratis, possem. Nihil ad Caudium, patres conscripti, humanis consiliis gestum est; dii immortales et vestris et hostium imperatoribus mentem ademerunt. Nec nos in bello satis cavimus, et illi male partam victoriam male perdiderunt, dum vix locis, quibus vicerant, credunt, dum quacunque condicione arma viris in arma natis auferre festinant. An, si sana mens fuisset, difficile illis fuit, dum senes ab domo ad consultandum accersunt, mittere Romam legatos? cum senatu, cum populo de pace ac foedere agere? Tridui iter expeditis erat; interea in indutiis res fuisset, donec ab Roma legati aut victoriam illis certam aut pacem afferrent. Ea demum sponsio esset, quam populi iussu spopondissemus. Sed neque vos tulissetis, nec nos spopondissemus; nec fas fuit alium rerum exitum esse, quam ut illi velut somnio laetiore, quam quod mentes eorum capere possent, nequicquam eluderentur, et nostrum exercitum eadem, quae impedierat, fortuna expediret, vanam victoriam vanior irritam faceret pax, sponsio interponeretur, quae neminem praeter sponsorem obligaret. Quid enim vobiscum, patres conscripti, quid cum populo Romano actum est? Quis vos appellare potest, quis se a vobis dicere deceptum? Hostis an civis? Hosti nihil spopondistis, civem neminem spondere pro vobis iussistis. Nihil ergo vobis nec nobiscum est, quibus nihil mandastis, nec cum Samnitibus, cum quibus nihil egistis. Samnitibus sponsores nos sumus rei satis locupletes in id, quod nostrum

est, in id, quod praestare possumus, corpora nostra et animos; in haec saeviant, in haec ferrum, in haec iras acuant. Quod ad tribunos attinet, consulite, utrum praesens deditio eorum fieri possit an in diem differatur; nos interim, T. Veturi vosque ceteri, vilia haec capita luendae sponsioni feramus, et nostro supplicio liberemus Romana arma.'

7. *The Senate decides on repudiation.*

Movit patres conscriptos quum causa, tum auctor, nec ceteros solum, sed tribunos etiam plebei, ut se in senatus dicerent fore potestate. Magistratu inde se extemplo abdicaverunt, traditique fetialibus cum ceteris Caudium ducendi. Hoc senatus consulto facto lux quaedam affulsisse civitati visa est. Postumius in ore erat; eum laudibus ad caelum ferebant, devotioni P. Decii consulis, aliis claris facinoribus aequabant: emersisse civitatem ex obnoxia pace illius consilio et opera; ipsum se cruciatibus et hostium irae offerre piaculaque pro populo Romano dare. Arma cuncti spectant et bellum: en unquam futurum, ut congredi armatis cum Samnite liceat?

8. *Postumius' puerility and Pontius' generosity.*

In civitate ira odioque ardente delectus prope omnium voluntariorum fuit; rescriptae ex eodem milite novae legiones, ductusque ad Caudium exercitus. Praegressi fetiales ubi ad portam venere, vestem detrahi pacis sponsoribus iubent, manus post tergum vinciri. Quum apparitor verecundia maiestatis Postumii laxe vinciret, 'Quin tu' inquit 'adducis lorum, ut iusta fiat deditio?' Tum ubi in coetum Samnitium et ad tribunal ventum Pontii est, A. Cornelius Arvina fetialis ita verba fecit: 'Quandoque hisce homines

iniussu populi Romani Quiritium foedus ictum iri spoponderunt atque ob eam rem noxam nocuerunt, ob eam rem, quo populus Romanus scelere impio sit solutus, hosce homines vobis dedo.' Haec dicenti fetiali Postumius genu femur, quanta maxime poterat vi, perculit, et clara voce ait, se Samnitem civem esse, illum legatum fetialem a se contra ius gentium violatum; eo iustius bellum gesturos. Tum Pontius 'Nec ego istam deditionem accipiam' inquit, 'nec Samnites ratam habebunt. Quin tu, Sp. Postumi, si deos esse censes, aut omnia irrita facis aut pacto stas? Samniti populo omnes, quos in potestate habuit, aut pro iis pax debetur. Sed quid ego te appello, qui te captum victori cum qua potes fide restituis? Populum Romanum appello, quem si sponsionis ad Furculas Caudinas factae paenitet, restituat legiones intra saltum, quo saeptae fuerunt. Nemo quemquam deceperit; omnia pro infecto sint; recipiant arma, quae per pactionem tradiderunt; redeant in castra sua; quicquid pridie habuerunt, quam in colloquium est ventum, habeant; tum bellum et fortia consilia placeant, tum sponsio et pax repudietur. Ea fortuna, iis locis, quae ante pacis mentionem habuimus, geramus bellum; nec populus Romanus consulum sponsionem nec nos fidem populi Romani accusemus. Nunquamne causa defiet, cur victi pacto non stetis? Obsides Porsinnae dedistis; furto eos subduxistis. Auro civitatem a Gallis redemistis; inter accipiendum aurum caesi sunt. Pacem nobiscum pepigistis, ut legiones vobis captas restitueremus; eam pacem irritam facitis. Et semper aliquam fraudi speciem iuris imponitis. Non probat populus Romanus ignominiosa pace legiones servatas? Pacem sibi habeat, legiones captas victori restituat; hoc fide, hoc foederibus, hoc fetialibus caerimoniis dignum erat. Ut quidem tu, quod petisti per pactionem, habeas, tot cives incolumes, ego pacem, quam hos tibi remit-

tendo pactus sum, non habeam, hoc tu, A. Corneli, hoc vos, fetiales, iuris gentibus dicitis? Ego vero istos, quos dedi simulatis, nec accipio nec dedi arbitror, nec moror, quo minus in civitatem obligatam sponsione commissa iratis omnibus diis, quorum eluditur numen, redeant. Gerite bellum, quando Sp. Postumius modo legatum fetialem genu perculit. Ita dii credent, Samnitem civem Postumium, non civem Romanum esse et a Samnite legatum Romanum violatum: eo vobis iustum in nos factum esse bellum. Haec ludibria religionum non pudere in lucem proferre, et vix pueris dignas ambages senes ac consulares fallendae fidei exquirere! I, lictor, deme vincla Romanis; moratus sit nemo, quo minus, ubi visum fuerit, abeant.'

IV. FRESH APPEAL TO MIGHT.

1. *Despair of the Conquerors.*

Et illi quidem, forsitan et publica, sua certe liberata fide, ab Caudio in castra Romana inviolati redierunt. Samnitibus pro superba pace infestissimum cernentibus renatum bellum omnia, quae deinde evenerunt, non in animis solum, sed prope in oculis esse, et sero ac nequicquam laudare senis Pontii utraque consilia, inter quae se media lapsos victoriae possessionem pace incerta mutasse et, beneficii et maleficii occasione amissa, pugnaturos cum eis, quos potuerint in perpetuum vel inimicos tollere vel amicos facere. Adeoque, nullodum certamine inclinatis viribus, post Caudinam pacem animi mutaverant, ut clariorem inter Romanos deditio Postumium quam Pontium incruenta victoria inter Samnites faceret, et geri posse bellum Romani pro victoria certa haberent, Samnites simul rebellasse et vicisse crederent Romanum.

2. *Publilius invades Samnium.*

Consules inter se partiti provincias, Papirius in Apuliam ad Luceriam pergit, ubi equites Romani obsides ad Caudium dati custodiebantur, Publilius in Samnio substitit adversus Caudinas legiones. Distendit ea res Samnitium animos, quod nec ad Luceriam ire, ne ab tergo instaret hostis, nec manere, ne Luceria interim amitteretur, satis audebant. Optimum visum est committere rem fortunae et transigere cum Publilio certamen; itaque in aciem copias educunt. Adversus quos Publilius consul quum dimicaturus esset, prius alloquendos milites ratus contionem advocari iussit; ceterum sicut ingenti alacritate ad praetorium concursum est, ita prae clamore poscentium pugnam nulla adhortatio imperatoris audita est; suus cuique animus memor ignominiae adhortator aderat. Vadunt igitur in proelium urgentes signiferos, et, ne mora in concursu pilis emittendis stringendisque inde gladiis esset, pila velut dato ad id signo abiiciunt, strictisque gladiis cursu in hostem feruntur. Nihil illic imperatoriae artis ordinibus aut subsidiis locandis fuit; omnia ira militaris prope vesano impetu egit. Itaque non fusi modo hostes sunt, sed ne castris quidem suis fugam impedire ausi Apuliam dissipati petiere; Luceriam tamen coacto rursus in unum agmine est perventum. Romanos ira eadem, quae per mediam aciem hostium tulerat, et in castra pertulit. Ibi plus quam in acie sanguinis ac caedis factum, praedaeque pars maior ira corrupta.

3. *Papirius takes the Sea-route.*

Exercitus alter cum Papirio consule locis maritimis pervenerat Arpos per omnia pacata, Samnitium magis iniuriis et odio quam beneficio ullo populi Romani; nam Samnites,

ea tempestate in montibus vicatim habitantes, campestria et maritima loca, contempto cultorum molliore atque, ut evenit fere, locis simili genere, ipsi montani atque agrestes depopulabantur. Quae regio si fida Samnitibus fuisset, aut pervenire Arpos exercitus Romanus nequisset, aut interiecta inter Romam et Arpos penuria rerum omnium exclusos a commeatibus absumpsisset. Tum quoque profectos inde ad Luceriam, iuxta obsidentes obsessosque inopia vexavit. Omnia áb Arpis Romanis suppeditabantur, ceterum adeo exigue, ut militi occupato stationibus vigiliisque et opere eques folliculis in castra ab Arpis frumentum veheret, interdum occursu hostium cogeretur abiecto ex equo frumento pugnare. Obsessis, priusquam alter consul victore exercitu advenit, et commeatus ex montibus Samnitium invecti erant et auxilia intromissa; artiora omnia adventus Publilii fecit, qui, obsidione delegata in curam collegae, vagus per agros cuncta infesta commeatibus hostium fecerat. Itaque quum spes nulla esset, diutius obsessos inopiam laturos, coacti Samnites, qui ad Luceriam castra habebant, undique contractis viribus signa cum Papirio conferre.

4. *The two Consuls besiege Luceria. Embassy from the Tarentine Greeks.*

Per id tempus, parantibus utrisque se ad proelium, legati Tarentini interveniunt, denuntiantes Samnitibus Romanisque, ut bellum omitterent: per utros stetisset, quo minus discederetur ab armis, adversus eos se pro alteris pugnaturos. Ea legatione Papirius audita, perinde ac motus dictis eorum, cum collega se communicaturum respondit; accitoque eo, quum tempus omne in apparatu pugnae consumpsisset, collocutus de re haud dubia, signum pugnae proposuit. Agentibus divina humanaque, quae assolent, quum acie dimicandum

est, consulibus Tarentini legati occursare, responsum exspectantes; quibus Papirius ait: 'Auspicia secunda esse, Tarentini, pullarius nuntiat: litatum praeterea est egregie; auctoribus diis, ut videtis, ad rem gerendam proficiscimur.' Signa inde ferri iussit et copias eduxit, vanissimam increpans gentem, quae, suarum impotens rerum prae domesticis seditionibus discordiisque, aliis modum pacis ac belli facere aequum censeret. Samnites ex parte altera, quum omnem curam belli remisissent, quia aut pacem vere cupiebant, aut expediebat simulare, ut Tarentinos sibi conciliarent, quum instructos repente ad pugnam Romanos conspexissent, vociferari, se in auctoritate Tarentinorum manere nec descendere in aciem nec extra vallum arma ferre; deceptos potius, quodcunque casus ferat, passuros, quam ut sprevisse pacis auctores Tarentinos videantur. Accipere se omen consules aiunt et eam precari mentem hostibus, ut ne vallum quidem defendant.

5. *The Revenge.*

Ipsi inter se partitis copiis succedunt hostium munimentis, et simul undique adorti, quum pars fossas explerent, pars vellerent vallum atque in fossas proruerent, nec virtus modo insita, sed ira etiam exulceratos ignominia stimularet animos, castra invasere; et pro se quisque, non haec furculas nec Caudium nec saltus invios esse, ubi errorem fraus superbe vicisset, sed Romanam virtutem, quam nec vallum nec fossae arcerent, memorantes, caedunt pariter resistentes fusosque, inermes atque armatos, servos, liberos, puberes, impubes, homines iumentaque; nec ullum superfuisset animal, ni consules receptui signum dedissent avidosque caedis milites e castris hostium imperio ac minis expulissent. Itaque apud infensos ob interpellatam dulcedinem irae confestim oratio habita est, ut doceretur miles, minime cuiquam

militum consules odio in hostes cessisse aut cessuros; quin duces sicut belli, ita insatiabilis supplicii futuros fuisse, ni respectus equitum sexcentorum, qui Luceriae obsides tenerentur, praepedisset animos, ne desperata venia hostes caecos in supplicia eorum ageret, perdere prius quam perire optantes. Laudare ea milites laetarique, obviam itum irae suae esse, ac fateri, omnia patienda potius, quam proderetur salus tot principum Romanae iuventutis.

6. *Luceria capitulates.*

Dimissa contione, consilium habitum, omnibusne copiis Luceriam premerent, an altero exercitu et duce Apuli circa, gens dubiae ad id voluntatis, tentarentur. Publilius consul ad peragrandam profectus Apuliam aliquot expeditione una populos aut vi subegit aut condicionibus in societatem accepit. Papirio quoque, qui obsessor Luceriae restiterat, brevi ad spem eventus respondit; nam insessis omnibus viis, per quas commeatus ex Samnio subvehebantur, fame domiti Samnites, qui Luceriae in praesidio erant, legatos misere ad consulem Romanum, ut, receptis equitibus, qui causa belli essent, absisteret obsidione. Iis Papirius ita respondit, debuisse eos Pontium Herennii filium, quo auctore Romanos sub iugum misissent, consulere, quid victis patiendum censeret; ceterum quoniam ab hostibus in se aequa statui quam in se ipsi ferre maluerint, nuntiare Luceriam iussit, arma, sarcinas, iumenta, multitudinem omnem imbellem intra moenia relinquerent; militem se cum singulis vestimentis sub iugum missurum, ulciscentem illatam, non novam inferentem ignominiam. Nihil recusatum.

7. *How the Romans show their Generosity.*

Septem millia militum sub iugum missa, praedaque ingens Luceriae capta, receptis omnibus signis armisque, quae ad

Caudium amissa erant, et, quod omnia superabat gaudia, equitibus recuperatis, quos pignora pacis custodiendos Luceriam Samnites dederant. Haud ferme alia mutatione subita rerum clarior victoria populi Romani est, si quidem etiam, quod quibusdam in annalibus invenio, Pontius Herennii filius, Samnitium imperator, ut expiaret consulum ignominiam, sub iugum cum ceteris est missus. Ceterum id minus miror, obscurum esse de hostium duce dedito missoque; id magis mirabile est ambigi, Luciusne Cornelius dictator cum L. Papirio Cursore magistro equitum eas res ad Caudium atque inde Luceriam gesserit, ultorque unicus Romanae ignominiae, haud sciam an iustissimo triumpho ad eam aetatem secundum Furium Camillum, triumphaverit, an consulum Papiriique praecipuum id decus sit. Sequitur hunc errorem alius error, Cursorne Papirius proximis comitiis cum Q. Aulio Cerretano iterum, ob rem bene gestam Luceriae continuato magistratu, consul tertium creatus sit, an L. Papirius Mugillanus et in cognomine erratum sit.

8. *Triumph of the Hero.*

Inde ad triumphum decessisse Romam Papirium Cursorem scribunt, qui eo duce Luceriam receptam Samnitesque sub iugum missos auctores sunt. Et fuit vir haud dubie dignus omni bellica laude, non animi solum vigore, sed etiam corporis viribus excellens. Praecipua pedum pernicitas inerat, quae cognomen etiam dedit; victoremque cursu omnium aetatis suae fuisse ferunt seu crurum vi seu exercitatione multa, cibi vinique eundem capacissimum, nec cum ullo asperiorem, quia ipse invicti ad laborem corporis esset, fuisse militiam pediti pariter equitique; equites etiam aliquando ausos ab eo petere, ut sibi pro re bene gesta laxaret aliquid laboris; quibus ille 'Ne nihil remissum dicatis, remitto' inquit, 'ne utique dorsum demulceatis, quum ex equis

descendetis.' Et vis erat in eo viro imperii ingens pariter in socios civesque. Praenestinus praetor per timorem segnius ex subsidiis suos duxerat in primam aciem; quem quum inambulans ante tabernaculum vocari iussisset, lictorem expedire securim iussit. Ad quam vocem exanimi stante Praenestino, 'Age dum, lictor, excide radicem hanc' inquit 'incommodam ambulantibus,' perfusumque ultimi supplicii metu, multa dicta, dimisit. Haud dubie illa aetate, qua nulla virtutum feracior fuit, nemo unus erat vir, quo magis innixa res Romana staret. Quin eum parem destinant animis magno Alexandro ducem, si arma Asia perdomita in Europam vertisset.

NOTES.

THE CAUDINE DISASTER.

B.C. 321—320.

I. SAMNITES DRIVEN TO DESPAIR.

TRANSLATION OF LINES 1–34.

We now come to the consulate of T. Veturius Calvinus and Spurius Postumius, the year of the famous defeat of the Romans which led to the peace of Caudium. The leader of the Samnites was G. Pontius, the son of Herennius, and as the father was the greatest statesman, so was the son the most distinguished soldier and general of his day. When the envoys, who had been sent to Rome to make restitution, returned with the report that peace was not to be had, 'You must not suppose,' said Pontius to the Samnites, 'that the embassy has been sent in vain; for if we offended the celestial powers by acting contrary to the truce, the offence is now expiated. Those gods, whoever they were, whose will it was that we should be reduced to the necessity of meeting the demands for restitution in accordance with the terms of the peace, will, I am sure, look with displeasure on the Romans thus haughtily refusing the proffered expiation. What can be done more than we have done to appease the wrath of gods and men? we have sent back property which was captured as spoil, and lawful prize of war; when we could no longer surrender the authors of the war alive, we gave up their dead bodies; we carried their property to Rome that no stain of guilt might be left among us. What debt remains unpaid to you, Roman? What more is due to the treaty and the gods in whose presence it was made? What umpire shall I offer to settle the measure of your anger and my punishment? I shrink from no one, whether a nation or an individual. But if among men the helpless has no longer any rights in his struggle with the powerful, I will betake myself to the gods who punish the proud spirit, and implore them to turn their wrath on those who are content

neither with the restitution of what is their own, nor the acquisition of what is another's; whose cruelty is not glutted with the death of the guilty or the surrender of lifeless corpses, or the goods sent after their owner; who can never be appeased till we give them our blood to drink and our vitals to tear. War is righteous when it is necessary, and arms are holy, when they are the last hope of the oppressed. Wherefore as the favour of the gods is the best omen and their frown the worst in every human undertaking, be assured that while in former wars we have taken up arms against the gods rather than men, in this which is now coming upon us, the gods will fight on our side.'

Line 1. **hunc annum**, B. C. 322. The Romans had in this year rejected all terms with the Samnites, and, although these latter had offered up Brutulus Papius, the leader of their war-party, would be content with nothing less than that the Samnites should acknowledge their supremacy. So the whole nation resolved to try the chances of war once more, and chose as imperator a man who has deserved to be called the Samnite Hannibal, Gaius Pontius of Telesia.

l. 2. Both these men had been consuls before during the first Samnite War.

l. 3. **imperator**, 'general of the forces.'

That **Herennius** was a very cultivated man we learn from Cicero, who states that Archytas and Plato met him at Tarentum in the consulship of L. Camillus and Ap. Claudius, i. e. in B. C. 349. Cf. Cic. de Sen. 41.

l. 4. **primum**, 'foremost of his age.' So too 'prudentissimus,' 'quite the best statesman of his time.'

l. 5. **is** refers to 'Pontium,' already mentioned as the object of the verb in the last sentence. The change of the object of the preceding sentence to be the subject in the next is marked in Latin by the express use of a pronoun. See Potts' Hints, Part iii, v, who quotes 'Pergamum ad *regem* venerunt. *Is* legatos comiter acceptos Pessinuntem deduxit' ('They came to the king, *who* led them,' &c.).

After the great defeat of the preceding year (322 B. C.) the Samnites, in the belief that the truce recently concluded with the Romans had been broken by Brutulus Papius, a leading Samnite, passed a resolution 'that Brutulus Papius should be given up to the Romans; that with him all the booty and captives taken from the Romans should be sent to Rome; and that everything which the fetiales had demanded under the terms of the treaty should duly be restored.' Brutulus took his own life to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, but his dead body and his property were sent to Rome. But the Romans accepted nothing

but the captives, and any article which was recognized in the booty, 'ceterarum rerum inrita fuit deditio.' To this offer of restitution Pontius refers in the following speech (Livy viii. 39).

l. 6. **infecta** = 'non facta,' not from 'inficio.'

ne here expresses the object of his speaking, not of the 'expiatum est.' Translate, 'That you may not think we have gained nothing by our embassy, I will tell you that,' &c. We should in English probably break up the sentence as follows:—'Do not think we have gained nothing; we have atoned for all the divine anger which we brought on ourselves.'

l. 7. **ex foedere rupto,** 'by the breach of the treaty.' So too 'Ademptus Hector tradidit Pergama'; 'the taking away of Hector gave up Troy.' In 325 B.C. the Samnites had sought for peace, and as they could not agree on the terms had made a truce for a year; but even this they did not keep, Livy viii. 37. Brutulus Papius was regarded as the author of the breach.

l. 9. **cordi** 'diis est,' 'it is to the liking of the Gods;' 'they have it at heart.'

fuit, indicative, though joined to 'scio' by the indefinite 'quibuscunque.' 'Whichever of the gods had it at their heart, as I know full well they had, that we should,' &c.

l. 10. **repeto** is used of claiming, and 'reddo' of giving, what is due.

l. 15. **auctores.** 'We could not give up alive the instigators of the war; but we have given them up now, though they have paid their last debt to nature.' Notice the position of 'auctores.' It has to do duty as the object after 'dedere potuimus' and 'dedidimus.' Therefore it is put before both. In English we are obliged to use the pronoun 'them' with the second verb.

l. 17. **noxae** depends on 'quid'; 'that no taint of guilt might stay with us.'

penes. Adverbs are indeclinable words; for some of them are cases of existing nouns; others cases of lost nouns; others words with case suffixes, different from those in common use in Latin; others apparently mutilated remains of some fuller expression. 'Instar,' 'gratia,' 'ergo' may be compared with *δίκην, χάριν, ἕνεκα.* 'Penes,' 'in the possession of,' is supposed to be connected with 'pendere.' 'Tenus,' 'as far as,' like 'secus,' 'otherwise,' is probably an old accusative, representing extent, from the same root as 'teneo.' 'Ultra,' 'supra,' 'infra,' 'citra,' 'contra' are ablatives feminine singular.

l. 18. **arbitris.** (1) Witness, e.g. 'remotis arbitris.' (2) Umpire, or person who decides a suit by equity as opposed to law. Here, 'Witnesses.'

l. 20. **feram.** Delib. subj. 'Whom am I to offer you to decide the just limit of your anger or of my punishment?'

neminem is used adjectivally with 'iudicem,' as 'vir nemo bonus.'

l. 21. **quod** often stands before 'si' at the beginning of a period, to imply a connexion of thought with the preceding sentence, 'now if,' 'but if,' lit. 'with regard to this, if.' **iuris humani**, the genitive of the thing measured is separated from the word which governs it. See ll. 8, 17. The order will be 'nihil iuris humani relinquitur inopi cum potentiore': 'If there is no earthly right left for the weak in his dealings with,' 'when brought into connexion with,' 'the more mighty, yet still,' &c. A genitive of the thing measured may depend either on substantives implying measurement, as 'modius,' 'a peck,' 'amphora,' 'a cask,' 'copia,' 'vis,' &c.; or on neuter adjectives or pronouns of quantity, as 'multum,' 'nihil,' 'id,' &c.; or on adverbs of quantity, as 'parum,' 'satis,' &c.

l. 23. **suas**, as opposed to 'humani'; '*their* wrath.'

l. 24. **redditae.** See l. 7, n.

l. 25. **quorum**, sqq. Translate, 'Men whose cruelty is appeased neither by the death of the guilty nor the surrender of their lifeless bodies, no nor by their possessions following their owner's surrender; men, I say, who know not how to be soothed till we have given them our very blood to suck and our bowels to tear.'

l. 26. **corporum**, in allusion to Brutulus Papius, the leader of the war-party in Samnium, who had made away with himself, in order that his fellow-citizens might be able to say that the author of the war had atoned for his offence. Niebuhr remarks that his act is one of the most heroic in all antiquity and outstrips Cato's similar deed.

l. 27. **nequeant.** The nominative to this is 'qui,' which must be supplied from 'quorum.'

l. 28. **iustum . . . et pia**, 'we have both "ius humanum" and "dei vindices" on our side.'

l. 29. **quibus.** Supply 'iis,' as the antecedent before each relative. 'A war is rightful to men to whom it is simply a necessity, and arms are holy to those who have no hope left them, save in arms.'

l. 31. **quam**, adj. pronoun agreeing with 'rem,' not adverb. The nominative to 'agant' is 'homines,' to be found in 'humanarum.' Translate, 'Since in all that men do it makes the greatest difference what business they undertake with the gods on their side, what with the gods against them, be well assured that, if in your former wars you fought, &c., in this you will,' &c.

l. 33. The subject to **gessisse** and 'gesturos' is 'vos.'

l. 35. **laeta.** Break up this sentence. 'The words that he spoke

were no less true as a prophecy than they were cheering. He led out his army, and, preserving the utmost secrecy, fixed his camp round Caudium.'

l. 37. **ad Calatiam**, 'to before Calatia.' 'Calatiam,' without 'ad,' would mean 'to the town itself.' 'Ad' is only used where the country round or near a town is meant as the place to which movement is made. This place lay between the modern towns of Caserta and Maddaloni. If the Romans wished to arrive in time to save Luceria, they must march right through the enemy's territory, where afterwards the Appian Way was continued from Capua into Apulia. See the Map, p. 1.

l. 40. **praesidiis**, 'outposts.'

ut depends on the idea of command in 'iubet.' 'Telling them all to keep to the same tale.' When (1) the command is not quite direct (i. e. when orders are given to *the effect that* such and such a thing be done), or (2) the verb of what is commanded has not the person who is ordered to do it as subject, 'iubeo' often takes 'ut' with the subjunctive, e. g. (1) 'Iube mihi denuo respondeat,' or (2) 'Iubetis Quirites, ut Valerius sit filius.' [But 'iubet ut Valerius proficiscatur,' in the sense 'he orders Valerius to set out,' would be against the rule.]

l. 43. **quin**, properly = 'how not,' 'so that not,' formed from the ablative 'qui' and the negative; 'and were not far off taking it.'

de industria, 'purposely.'

l. 46. **haud**. Only used with adjectives and adverbs and with the verb 'scio.'

Romanus. In some historians and poets certain words which denote a man of a particular class are sometimes used in the singular of the whole class. Cf. supr. l. 18, 'Romane,' and the famous line, 'Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento.' Cf. 'eques,' 'cavalry.'

l. 47. **bonis**, &c., 'to reward them for their loyalty as allies, and at the same time to prevent the whole of Apulia from being in a state of revolt.' If the Lucerians were to revolt, all Apulia would then be antagonistic to Rome. We learn, from Livy vii. 37, that the rest of Apulia was already at war with Rome. The Romans therefore had both their honour and interest at stake.

l. 48. **ea** agrees with 'consultatio.' Translate, 'The only question was which way they were to go.'

l. 49. **ad**. See note on l. 37.

ora superi maris = 'the coast of the Adriatic'; here used loosely for the East district or outer wall of the Apennines.

l. 51. **Furculae**, either between Arpaja and Montesarchio, or between Arienzo and Arpaja. It is difficult to ascertain the exact spot for two

reasons: (1) The Romans probably, as Niebuhr supposes, allowed Caudium to disappear from the face of Italy, as being the scene of their disgrace; (2) Our author's seemingly elaborate details are but a representation of almost all mountain gorges, and, if we are to judge by modern maps, exaggerate the natural difficulties of the ground.

l. 51. **natus**, of natural formation. Compare Horace, 'Versus male nati,' Ep. ii. 1. 233.

l. 52. **saltus**, 'defiles' or 'passes.' In other words, both the inlet and the outlet were mountain passes. The rest was a watery meadow enclosed by wooded hills, and only accessible through these passes.

l. 53. **perpetuis** implies continuance without a break; 'continuus,' 'a chain.' Compare Virgil, Aen. viii. 183 'Perpetui tergo bovis,' a 'whole chine.' So too

> 'Perpetuis soliti patres considere mensis,' ib. vii. 176,

of long tables where the fathers sat in an unbroken row. In Horace's

> 'Continui montes nisi dissocientur opaca
> Valle,'

Ep. i. 16. 5, there is probably allusion to a chain of one range varying in height.

satis, 'considerably.' Cf. French *assez*.

l. 55. The least suspicion of design makes **antequam** [or 'priusquam'] take the subjunctive. 'Before you can get to it.' Compare Caesar, B.C. i. 41 'Muniit castra priusquam intellegeretur ab Afranio.' 'Taking care that Afranius should not hear of it till it was done.' But 'priusquam intellectum est' would mean, 'He fortified his camp, and Afranius heard of it afterwards.'

l. 56. **insinuaveris**, 'have wound your way.' So too of a river 'flumen se inter valles insinuat.'

l. 59. **alia**, 'one,' **alias**, 'other.'

cavam rupem, 'arching rocky defile.'

l. 60. **demisso**, 'led down.' Cf. 'Quum se maior pars agminis in magnam convallem demisisset,' Caes. B. G. v. 32.

protinus, 'straightforward.' Cf. 'Protinus ago caprum.'

l. 61. **saeptas**, 'obstructed by a barricade of felled trees with huge blocks of stone set against them.' In order to realize some part of the Roman position the pupil should read the account of our passage of the Khyber Pass on the way to the relief of Jellalabad in the Afghan War of 1842. See Sir H. Lawrence's Life, vol i. p. 346. 'Long before that time every man was in his place: and by four o'clock the force was moving down with the hum of an armed multitude, the rattle of swords, the tramp of horses and the crash of artillery wheels, that cannot be hushed by will of man, through the two miles of stony hillocks gradually swelling into hills which screen the entrance to the Khyber. Across the

mouth of the Pass it was known that the enemy had built a high thick stone wall in which were laid long branches of trees, projecting towards us many feet, thereby preventing approach; and the Mountaineers relied on throwing the whole British column into confusion by a galling fire from behind the barricade and from breast works on the hills on either side, while this formidable obstruction was being removed.' If we want to realize the weakness and the strength of Livy's style, we should compare the general effect of his description with the very imperfect idea of the scene which he leaves in our minds.

l. 62. **appareo**, used of anything suddenly coming into sight. 'The stratagem of the enemy had already revealed itself, when at the same time the crests of the surrounding hills were crowned by their outposts.' In English we reverse the order of the sentences.

l. 64. **citati**, 'in hot haste.' Their check became a rout.

l. 65. **clausam ... armisque.** 'With a barricade of its own, and similarly occupied by troops.' Note **sua**, reflexive to 'eam.'

sistunt. This is an absurdity, for men thus shut in would fight with the courage of despair. We know too from Cicero that there was a pitched battle, and from Appian that half the military tribunes were killed. Livy therefore describes his countrymen as cowards in order to conceal the disgrace of a defeat. We cannot help being reminded throughout by Livy's description of the defeat of Flaminius' army on lake Thrasymenus. There also 'sibi quisque dux adhortatorque factus ad rem gerendam' after the first surprise. But on that occasion they had a different kind of general.

l. 68. **alterum**, 'his neighbour.'

l. 69. **praetoria**, see *Hannibal's Campaign in Italy*, p. 22.

l. 70. **videre**, 3rd pers. perf. ind.

utilia operi, 'their working tools.'

l. 74. **sua ipsi opera laboremque irritum ... eludentes**, 'themselves deriding their own toil and fruitless labour.'

l. 76. **cum.** As a general rule, the ablative of manner omits the preposition when it has an epithet.

l. 77. **maestos**, 'downcast,' and showing it in their faces.

advocantes, here used absolutely in order to avoid expressing the subject 'legati' as an accusative also, and so to keep it in the same case throughout the period. Compare 'Dolore superante exclamavit.'

l. 78. **esset** expresses that this was their feeling.

l. 79. **legati.** See note on l. 182. Distinguish this meaning of 'legatus' from that in l. 128, 'legatos mittunt.'

l. 81. **oppressit**, 'surprised.'

l. 85. **per annos ... vincimus.** 'We have now been conquerors for nearly thirty years.' The real number of years was twenty-two. The

first Samnite War began in B.C. 343. The Samnites were driven from Campania, and the Romans only made peace in order to attack the Latins.

l. 85. **omnia . . . Romano,** (see line 34) 'every path will be smooth and level for the Romans,' &c.

l. 86. **in perfidum Samnitem.** See supr. l. 7. So Hannibal was 'perfidia plusquam Punica.' It was easier for the Romans to blacken their enemies than to whiten their own conduct.

l. 88. When **dum** signifies 'as long as,' it never has the present, except of actually present time. Thus 'dum licuit, hoc feci,' where 'dum' means 'as long as,' but 'dum haec geruntur, Hannibal miserat,' where 'dum' expresses what happens *while*, or in the course of the time in which, something else happens.

qua . . . venias? 'how are you to get at the enemy?' For the 'deliberative' subjunctive compare 'eamus.' But here the questions imply despair rather than deliberation.

l. 92. **qua . . . qua** ('partly on this side, partly on that') are used with single words, as 'quum,' 'tum' with clauses. 'Equally of food and of sleep.'

II. THE TABLES ARE TURNED ON THE ROMANS.

l. 93. **Ne Samnitibus quidem.** If the Romans were distracted by their disaster, the Samnites were not less so owing to their success. 'The Samnites on their part were at a loss how to make the best use of so great a success.'

l. 94. **Herennium.** 'The connexion with Tarentum (supr. l. 3) was likely to have an influence on the more eminent Samnites, and G. Pontius, the son, was probably far more cultivated than any Roman general. It is only a foolish rhetoric which represents him as obliged either to dismiss or to slaughter; he could not have done better than take prisoner the whole hostile army. In that case Rome's political existence was at stake. He however probably thought that he could end the war by an equitable peace, either from a foolish longing for peace such as had sacrificed Papius, or because he was held in check by the peace party.' Mommsen.

l. 95. **is.** See note on l. 5.

l. 96. **muneribus.** See *Public School Grammar*, § 129 A, and § 131 B. The omission of 'ab' after a verb of separation seems to have the same effect as the use of the dative after a verb of remoteness. Thus in good prose we should say 'abscessit e curia,' where we are talking

of bodily motion, but 'abscessit incepto,' 'he gave up the undertaking.' Similarly 'abstraho milites de imperatoris conspectu,' but 'abstraho me sollicitudinibus,' where 'sollicitudinibus' is the dative. Of course this rule is perpetually modified by finer shades of thought, and in verse gives way altogether to the necessities of metre and poetry.

l. 97. **affecto**, 'weakened.'

l. 102. **consulebatur.** The subject to this verb is 'Herennius Pontius,' not 'sententia.' Lower down, in l. 106, the subject to 'victus est' is 'filius,' which has to be carried on from the 'quanquam' clause. Such careless use of the subject is more English than Latin, and not to be imitated.

l. 103. **velut**, &c., 'as if from an oracle of uncertain sound.'

l. 104. **quanquam . . . acciret.** 'Although his own son was among the first to think that by this time his father's mind had grown old with his tottering body, still he was prevailed upon by the general consent to summon him in person to join their deliberation.'

primis, masculine.

l. 108. **nec** only qualifies 'gravatus'; 'nor did the old man take it amiss; on the contrary, the story is that,' &c.

l. 109. **nihil . . . causas**; 'in such a way that, without bating one jot of his opinion, he only fortified it by his reasons.'

l. 110. **priore se.** Note the ease with which the Latin language dispenses with the verb of saying before the oratio obliqua.

l. 111. **duco**, 'think.' Cf. the use and origin of the Gr. ἡγεῖσθαι.

l. 112. **firmare**, present of uncompleted action; 'he was proposing to strengthen.' The Romans would have laughed at such simplicity.

l. 113. **in multas aetates**, 'for many generations': 'aetas' is a 'lifetime.' **quibus**, 'within which.'

amissis duobus exercitibus. Both consuls, each with his army, were caught in the trap. Two legions, each of 4200 foot and 300 horse, made up a normal **consularis exercitus.**

l. 116. **exsequerentur**, 'followed up his remark, by asking, "How, if . . .?"' &c. Lit. 'What would happen, if . . .?'

l. 118. **ista**, &c., 'that proposal of yours is the very one which,' &c. See note on l. 421.

l. 119. **parat**, indicative: 'the identical one which as a matter of fact, does not.' Compare, on the other hand, l. 121 'quae victa quiescere nesciat,' 'of such a kind that,' &c.

l. 120. **servate modo.** 'Once keep alive men whom you have exasperated by a sense of shame; you will soon find that the Roman race,' &c. What might have been put in a conditional clause—'If you keep alive,' &c., is put more forcibly in the imperative. The result of

the preservation is finally given in l. 123, 'multiplices poenas expetitas a vobis.' Expressed as a condition the meaning would be—'If you keep them alive, their nature is such that they will have their revenge, and you will pay for your victory many times over.' For a similarly graphic form of expression and bearing on the same subject see Horace, Odes, iv. 4. 65–68:

'Merses profundo: pulchrior evenit:
Luctere: multa proruet integrum
Cum laude victorem, geretque
Proelia coniugibus loquenda.'

l. 122. **praesens**, 'special, immediate need.' The whole of this speech is more like the style of Hor. Od. iv. 4 than sober prose.

l. 125. **domum.** Dr. Abbott, in his *Latin Prose* remarks that 'in English the object after a verb of motion often dispenses with the preposition. Thus we say, "He went home," "I go fishing." Where the preposition is not quite discarded, the tendency is sometimes seen, as in "He rides a-field." All nouns that are often repeated after the same preposition in English have a tendency to become adverbs. Thus we say "abed" but not "achair," "asleep" but not "aslumber." Now the Romans thought more of towns and less of countries than we do. Farmers used to live in the towns and go out to their work. So, as they were constantly going into and out of their houses, their fields, and their towns, but not so often into and out of countries, they omitted prepositions before towns, but retained them before countries.' See however note on l. 37, where a somewhat different explanation is given. Dr. Abbott hardly allows enough for the fact that a town is a definite spot, whereas a country is a large tract *into* which one goes.

l. 127. **capti.** 'Suscipio' would be more usual.

l. 128. Notice the final use of **qui**, 'to seek.'

l. 129. **provocarent.** All this is part of Livy's school declamation style. For **uti** compare note on l. 40. It seems better to take 'uti' as introducing the instructions of the Romans to the embassy in oblique petition, than as carrying on the final idea in 'qui.' Translate, 'If they saw no chance of obtaining peace, they were to challenge them to a battle.'

l. 130. **debellatum esse**, impersonal: 'all war was over.'

l. 132. **alias**, 'in all other respects.' Pontius insisted on the confession of defeat implied by passing under the 'iugum'; when this was done, he would propose fair terms.

l. 133. **agro.** See note on l. 96. The absence of the preposition here probably represents the act as implying the relinquishment of any claim on the land as well as possession of it.

l. 134. **coloniae**, e.g. Fregellae and Cales, which were little else than fortresses to hold a conquered country.

l. 137. **ferire**, used of making a treaty, because a pig was sacrificed ('ferio') with these words: 'Si prior defexit populus Romanus publico consilio dolo malo, tu illo die Iuppiter populum Romanum sic ferito, ut ego hunc porcum hic hodie feriam; tantoque magis ferito, quanto magis potes pollesque.'

vetuit. 'Vetat' would be more grammatical with 'displiceat.'

l. 138. **legationem renuntio** means, 'I give an account' or 'make a report of my embassy.' So constantly used by Cicero.

l. 139. **ut non . . . esse.** Translate, 'That it was clear that if a message were brought that all were on that very spot to meet their death they would not receive it with greater distress.'

l. 143. **hisco** (cf. 'hio'), 'to open their mouths'; infra l. 242.

l. 145. **memorantem**, 'I have often listened to my father as he told that he was the only senator who had refused his sanction,' &c.

se in Capitolio . . . a Gallis. According to Livy, v. 48, the sum was 4000 pounds of gold. But the Gauls brought dishonest weights, and when the tribune remonstrated, Brennus, the leader of the Gauls, threw his sword into the scale, and there was heard a 'vox Romanis intoleranda: vae victis.'

l. 147. **quando**, &c., 'seeing that, as he urged,' &c.

nec, taken up by 'et,' 'both not . . . and.'

l. 149. **quod.** See l. 21.

l. 150. **illis.** Note the position of the contrasted word 'illis' first in its clause. It refers to the Romans at the time of the battle of the Allia.

l. 151. **quo modo eruperunt.** If a thing is spoken of that is repeatedly done, the perfect is used in subordinate propositions, expressing time or condition, if the action of the subordinate is antecedent to that of the leading proposition. Compare 'Quocunque aspexisti, tuae tibi occurrunt iniuriae'; 'Wherever you *look*,' &c.

l. 154. **equidem** is related to 'quidem' as 'enim' is to 'nam.' The derivation from 'ego quidem' is impossible on account of the quantity, 'ĕquīdem.'

l. 156. Compare the Greek phrase *ἄνδρες γὰρ πόλις*.

l. 158. **pro se ipsis**, 'in their own selfish interest,' i.e. to save disgrace.

volunt. Simply conditional of fact. This is most commonly used in the expression, 'sive . . . sive.'

l. 159. **dicat** ('dixerit'), of a thing which does not take place but might; 'some one might here say' (*λέγοι ἄν τις*).

aliquis ('alius quis') and 'quidam' denote some one in particular, and are obscurely definite; 'quivis' and 'quilibet' allow an unlimited

range of choice; 'quisquam' and its adjective 'ullus' ('unulus') exclude all the objects specified. Thus 'sensus morienti aliquis esse potest'; 'A dying man may have feeling of some sort.' 'Quodam tempore natus sum; aliquo moriar'; 'I was born on a particular day; I shall die on some day or other'; where 'quidam' describes indefinitely what is known definitely, 'aliquis' describes what is known to exist but cannot be definitely named. Again:

'Non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum;' Hor. Ep. i. 17. 36: 'Not to every chance person is it granted to reach Corinth,' where 'cuiquam' would mean, 'No single person ever reaches Corinth.'

l. 160. **immo**, implies an answer conveying a correction, and is to be translated 'nay.'

l. 162. **videlicet.** The Latin love of brevity contracted 'patere facio' into 'patefacio,' 'venumdo' into 'vendo,' 'venum eo' into 'veneo,' 'scire licet' into 'scilicet,' 'videre licet' into 'videlicet.' 'Videlicet' therefore = 'you can see,' 'of course,' and is used of a true conclusion, as 'scilicet' is more often used with an ironical force.

l. 163. 'Aye, good Hercules, just as much as it defended them from the onslaught of the Gauls.'

l. 164. **an** is used in simple questions of a supplementary kind, when an inquiry is made what would happen in case of objection to what has gone before, or when the speaker appends the answer to a question in the form of a new question. 'Quid ais? an venit Pamphilus?' 'What say you? Or is it that Pamphilus has come?' So here Lentulus ironically suggests, as if he had forgotten the alternative, the summoning of Camillus.

a Veiis exercitum Camillumque ducem. In Livy v. 46 we are told that the army which was at Veii demanded that Camillus should be recalled from exile and placed at their head; he was made dictator, and led the army to Rome. Arriving at the moment when the bargain with Brennus was being concluded, he put an end to the transaction and defeated the Gauls.

l. 167. **at**, 'yes, but.' Here used to introduce an objection started by the speaker, in order practically to set it aside by a following 'sed.'

l. 168. The rhetorical style of our author is frequently suggesting subjects for debate. '*Ignominia*' had a technical sense from the 'censura,' which took notice of moral stains and violation of professional laws.

l. 169. **servemus**, imperfect force; 'we are ready to.' See note on l. 112.

ista, as usual, referring to second person, 'that of which you speak'; the words in l. 167, 'At foeda deditio est,' being regarded as the speech of an opponent.

l. 170. **pareatur**, impersonal.

l. 171. **armis**, ablative of price, 'by the surrender of arms.'

l. 175. There were no fetiales with the army; for the Romans had resolved to make no peace with the Samnites. The fetiales ('for, fari,' φημί) were the guardians of national morality. **caerimonia**, 'due solemnities.'

l. 176. The consuls and all the commanders pledged their word of honour that the people would ratify the peace; and until then the equites, the sons of the most distinguished families, were to remain as hostages. In contradistinction to this, it will be remembered that in the capitulation of Sedan the Emperor Napoleon specially stated that he had no wish or power to bind the Home Government in making his capitulation.

Claudius. Appius Claudius Caecus, the earliest Roman writer in prose or verse whose name we know. He began the Via Appia. He it was also who induced the senate to reject the treaty with Pyrrhus.

l. 177. **per sponsionem**, 'by pledging their word on oath.' It is difficult to make out from Livy's account what they pledged their word to do. See l. 326 and note. If they only promised to urge the acceptance of the peace proposed, Postumius certainly broke his word, as we see in l. 275. If, on the other hand, they actually concluded a peace 'per sponsionem,' they tried to exceed their powers. And even then the question remains, Why were the tribunes of the plebs responsible? For they of course were not now with the army.

l. 180. See note on l. 137.

per quem populum, &c. 'The relative clause in Latin often precedes the antecedent, when greater force is gained by the transposition; when the emphasis is thrown on the demonstrative; and when the relative refers to a demonstrative which stands alone.' Potts.

The order of the sentence will be as follows, 'Res transigitur precatione, ut Iuppiter ita eum populum feriat per quem fiat quo minus legibus dictis stetur, quemadmodum porcus a fetialibus feriatur.' Translate, 'The whole matter is simply a prayer that the nation which interferes with the terms laid down may be struck by Jupiter, just in the same way as the pig is struck by the fetials.'

l. 181. **spoponderunt**, 'there plighted their oath,' &c.

l. 182. **legati**. 'In addition to the regular officers of the legion, a general or provincial governor usually nominated, with the consent of the senate, *legati*, i. e. lieutenant-generals who were not attached to any one corps, but also exercised a general superintendence under his orders when he was present, and acted as his representatives when he was absent. We hear of legati under consuls and dictators from a very early period; the number seems to have been originally two, one for each of the two legions which constituted a *Consularis Exercitus*,

but in after times the number varied according to the magnitude of the army and the nature of the service.' Ramsay, *Roman Antiquities*, p. 387.

l. 182. **quaestores**, superintendents of the booty and pay-masters.

tribuni militum. These were the officers of highest rank in the legion; they were originally three in number. For a long time they were nominated by the consuls in command of the legion, but in B.C. 361 the people 'assumed the right of electing as many as they thought fit and from this time forward or at least from B.C. 311, a portion of them were always chosen in the Comitia Tributa, and the choice of the remainder left to the commander-in-chief.' Ramsay, *l. c.* p. 386.

l. 183. **ubi**, 'whereas.'

l. 184. **duorum**, understand 'nomina.' 'There would not be any found except those of the two fetials.'

l. 186. **imperati**, 'demanded.' **qui**, &c., 'to forfeit their lives if their government did not stand (impers.) by the agreement.'

pacto, ablative.

l. 187. **exercitu.** Dative.

l. 191. **essent**, as they said, not as Livy means to state.

l. 192. **locorum**, 'neighbourhood.'

It is impossible to have a more striking instance of the declamatory style of Livy than we have here. His narrative is pitched in as plaintive a key as his report of speeches. The remark at line 210, when the soldiers veil their resentment in presence of the disgrace of their leaders, is obviously an expression of what they ought to have done rather than a statement of what they did. In contrast to this M. Taine quotes the account in Thucydides, book iv, of the capitulation of Sphacteria. At the same time there is nothing false in Livy's flow of passion.

l. 193. **caecos in foveam lapsos**, 'they had fallen blindfold into a pit.'

intueri, &c. By a string of infinitives the picture of a series of actions is put before the reader without the actions being conceived of singly; as we should say, 'There they were, looking, thinking,' &c.

l. 199. **triumphantes**, 'in triumphal procession.'

l. 202. **haec** refers to what has gone before. It is neut. pl.

l. 203. **fatalis**, destined, fixed by fate, with 'hora.'

l. 204. **praeceperant**, 'anticipate.' Compare 'Iam animo victoriam praecipiebant.'

It may be interesting to compare an account of the capitulation at Metz, Oct. 27, 1870. 'The affair was imposing from its very simplicity. It was conducted in detail, each corps laying down its arms in the

neighbourhood of its own station. In the Third Army Corps, that of Lebœuf, the Marshal himself came first, a scowl upon his swarthy features. He wheeled to one side and stood by the Prussian officer whose duty it was to superintend the stacking of arms. Regiment after regiment the men defiled past, piling their arms in great heaps at the word of command from their own officers, who gave their parole and were allowed to retain their swords.'

l. 205. **primum.** Notice the difference of meaning between 'primum' and 'primi.' Translate, 'And now the time had come ("iam"); the first thing they had to do was to go out beyond the rampart with only one garment apiece; the first dealt with were the hostages who were surrendered and led off into safe keeping.'

l. 207. **a,** 'from.'

paludamenta, the symbol of their military position as generals in chief, 'pallium purpura et auro distinctum.'

Dr. Arnold compares the conduct of Cleôn and the Athenian commander, who allowed the Spartan government to send an embassy to Athens and to purchase, if they could, the deliverance of their soldiers at Sphacteria by a reasonable peace. In any case, whether Pontius trusted to the generosity of the Romans towards their conquerors, or their natural affection towards their hostages, he was mistaken.

l. 209. **lacerandos,** cf. l. 190, 'ut vix ab iis abstinerent manus.'

l. 212. **seminudi,** 'with only their tunics on.' Elsewhere Livy, speaking of the Samnites, says, 'Cum singulis vestimentis inermes.' See Thucydides ii. 70, where the Athenians make similar terms with the Potidaeans.

iugum. This was an opening made in the Samnite lines, with two spears set upright, and a third passed over them. Arnold says it was no peculiar insult, but a common usage, like the modern ceremony of piling arms, to treat prisoners of war in such a way. Mommsen says, 'The Samnite army, drunk with victory, could not resist the desire to subject their foes to the disgrace.' But Pontius was so far from being cruel, that he granted sumpter-horses to carry the wounded to Rome. It is just possible that he regarded such a ceremony as a political necessity, to show the completeness of the surrender, in the same way as the Germans, in 1870, regarded the occupation of part of Paris.

l. 213. **gradu,** 'in rank.' The order would be 'consules, legati, quaestores, tribuni militum, centuriones, manipulares.'

l. 214. **singulae legiones,** 'the legions, one by one.'

l. 215. **armati,** in opposition to the Romans, who were 'inermes.'

l. 217. **acrior,** comparative, here used to imply a more than average degree. 'If the fierce expression of their countenance, as they chafed

at the indignity of their position, forced itself on the notice of their conqueror.'

l. 220. **ipsa lux . . . fuit,** 'the very light, as it served only to reveal so hideous a line of march, was more gloomy than any death.' Compare l. 211.

III. THE RETURN OF THE CONQUERED.

The Roman people are thus pledged by the Roman army to accept a peace which can only be humiliating to them. Every step which the conquered take towards Rome serves only to reveal to them the enormity of their cowardice. No attentions on the part of their allies can soothe their wounded pride; no mourning seems adequate to the Roman Senate; the loss in battle, the captivity of six hundred of the flower of their youth, seem as nothing compared with the disgrace of such a peace. Sp. Postumius, who had sworn to recommend the treaty, comes forward as its chief denouncer, and, regardless of all personal feeling and honour, thinks only how his countrymen can evade the obligations under which he himself has placed them. Yet, if he meant anything by his oath to Pontius, he ought to have meant that he would do his best to further the treaty. For this consult Arnold's *History of Rome*, vol. ii. p. 224.

l. 222. **quum . . . possent,** 'though they might easily have reached Capua before night-fall.'

Capuam. See note on l. 37.

l. 224. **egena corpora,** &c., 'in utter distress, they threw themselves on the ground.' We say 'selves' where the realism of the Latin language says 'corpora.'

l. 226. **iusta,** 'natural.' The subject is here put after the verb in order to bring it into better contrast with the object.

superbiam, 'want of feeling' = Gk. *ἀγνωμοσύνη*.

l. 227. **sua,** with 'consulibus' not with 'mittunt'; by the 'insignia' are meant the 'fasces, lictores.'

l. 229. **senatus . . . officiis.** 'The senate and people went out to meet them, and welcomed them, both individually and publicly, with all due performance of hospitality.' Cf. 'omnia iusta perficere.'

l. 231. **neque** = 'at . . . non.' The 'non' must be taken after 'non modo.'

sociorum. The Capuan aristocracy, in the year A.C. 343, had joined the Roman confederacy, and had received the franchise of Roman citizens.

l. 234. **super**, &c., 'independently of their desire to show their mourning.'

l. 236. **a Capua.** 'Ab' is sometimes (by Livy usually) prefixed to the names of towns in the sense of removal, and always when removal from the neighbourhood is indicated, as 'Caesar *a* Gergovia discessit,' or when 'urbs' or 'oppidum' precedes the name. Compare note on l. 37.

l. 238. **multo . . . retulerunt**, 'reported them to be much more gloomy and disheartened than the day before.'

l. 239. **adeo . . . incessisse**, 'so silent, they said, nay almost as if dumb-stricken, had the column stalked along.'

l. 240. **iacere**, 'was prostrate.'

l. 243. **quemquam.** See note on l. 159.

l. 244. **habere . . . perpetuam**, 'the Samnites had in their hands a victory as lasting in its effects as in its fame.' Notice the force of 'habere' as more real than 'Samnitibus esse' would be.

l. 248. **deploratum**, 'wept for as lost.'

l. 251. So Cicero often, 'Sic profecto se res habet'; 'The truth is far otherwise.'

l. 252. **illud**, oratio obliqua for 'istud.' Translate, 'That set silence you notice, those eyes fixed on the ground, those ears deaf to all consolation, that shame at seeing the light—all these are only signs of a mind gathering a mass of passion from its depths.'

obstinatum, 'set.'

l. 254. **ex alto**, 'alto' is = a substantive: **animi** with 'indicia,' but the word may be repeated in sense with 'alto.'

l. 258. **quippe** = 'qui-pte,' as ἅτε; 'because forsooth,' 'in fact.' Translate, 'The fact was that each party would bring their own temper with them wherever they might meet, whilst the Samnites would not find a pass of Caudium everywhere.'

For the singular **quemque**, see note on l. 46.

l. 261. **sua** reflexive on 'Romae.' But this reference of 'suus' to an object case is only possible where the sense is obvious. See *Public School Grammar*, § 87.

infamis, 'notorious.'

l. 263. **periculi**, keep the alliteration with 'pacis'; 'peril.'

magis is not to be taken with 'tristior,' where it would be superfluous: 'the next message was more disheartening, as it spoke of a shameful peace rather than peril.'

l. 264. **coeptus erat.** Passive with a passive verb 'dependent.' So too with a passive infinitive we find both 'desieram' and 'desitus sum.'

auxiliorum, 'reinforcements.'

l. 266. **ulla** See note on l. 159.

l. 266. **auctoritas**, 'resolution.' 'Auctoritas senatus' = 'resolution of the senate,' before it is ratified by the tribunes.

l. 267. **iustitium**. This was a suspension for the time of all public functions—a 'staying of law' ('jus-stitium'), inasmuch as the courts were closed. It was proclaimed ('indictum') by the magistrates acting under the order of the senate.

l. 268. **lati clavi**. The broad red borders of the senatorial tunic.

l. 269. **anuli aurei**, the golden rings of the senators and equites.

l. 271. **irasci**. See note on l. 193.

urbe, &c. Ablatives of instrument of welcome.

l. 275. **sero**, 'after sunset.'

l. 277. **nemo . . . vellet**, 'not one was willing to show himself in public or in the market-place.'

l. 278. **consules**, &c. They looked on themselves as no longer worthy to be the chief magistrates of Rome, and shut themselves up at home in privacy.

l. 279. **expressum**, 'what was wrung from them.'

l. 281. **vitio**, technical for a defect in the auspices. Cf. 'comitiorum solum vitium est fulmen.' The 'locus classicus' for such defects is to be found in Mr. Nichol's 'Hannibal,' quoted (p. 23) in *Hannibal's Campaign in Italy*, ii. sc. 4.

l. 285. The interreges followed one another; there was only one interrex at a time. Cf. vi. 5. 6. 'Interreges *deinceps* M. Manlius Capitolinus, Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus, L. Valerius Potitus; hic demum . . . comitia habuit.' An interrex was chosen by lot from among the patres, and received by this choice the right of taking auspices, which in ordinary circumstances belonged to the supreme magistrates of the state. The interrex held office for five days only; after which he nominated a successor, who after five days nominated another, &c.

l. 288. **essent**, 'for they felt that there were,' &c. Philo was the author of the Publilian laws ('Ut plebiscita omnes Quirites tenerent'), and Cursor was the stern disciplinarian, who, as dictator, very nearly put to death his master of the horse.

l. 289. The indispensable customary motions on accession were first gone through, and then they brought on the question ('refero') before the senate.

l. 291. **penes**. The consuls enjoyed this distinction in alternate months.

l. 296. **qua**, see note on l. 92.

l. 302. **obstrinxi**, indicative of a past contemporaneous action; 'at the time when.'

l. 305. **debentur**, by attraction for 'debetur,' agreeing with 'quicquam.' Compare 'Ei cariora semper omnia quam decus et pudicitia fuit,' Sall. Cat. 25.

l. 307. **iustum piumque**, 'without violating any laws human or divine.'

l. 309. **placet**, 'my view is.'

l. 310. **omnia iusta**, 'all that they can fairly claim.'

l. 313. **at vos**, &c., 'still to consider it sufficient to have seen us sent under the yoke, to have seen us bound by a dishonourable agreement, and now ("videre") to see us handed over in chains and naked to the enemy, sustaining all the anger of the foe on our own heads.'

habeatis and **velitis** are subjunctives dependent on 'precor quaesoque' in oblique petition.

l. 317. **ante nos consules**, 'before our consulship.' It may be here remarked that the result of the first Samnite War was by no means so one-sided as Postumius is made to imply. See note on l. 85.

l. 322. **etiam**. Translate, 'Though a man of such worth, he was actually to suffer the worst punishment.'

l. 323. **ob iram**, 'as he was sure to suffer from their anger at the breaking off of the peace.'

l. 324. **prosequentes** (cp. 'prosequor te beneficiis'), 'attending him with nothing but praises.'

l. 325. **pedibus**. 'Ire pedibus' is the technical term for voting in a division. Translate, 'Were just adopting his resolution.'

l. 327. **sua**. If the tribunes of the people were to be given up, they must have been in some way implicated in making the peace. If they were in the army at the time, they must have been sent on some special mission, for as a rule a tribune was not allowed to leave the city for a night, or they must have come into office since they made the peace. Another suggestion is that they either sanctioned a decree of the curies about the peace, or made a formal proposal to that effect. Possibly the peace was ratified to recover the hostages. Livy, however, makes out that they were recovered in the year following at Luceria: this is improbable, as they would surely have been massacred on the breaking of the peace. If the tribunes had ratified the peace, there is little excuse for the Romans. Otherwise it was quite an established principle that at Rome every state agreement, not purely military, pertained to the civil authorities, and a general who concluded peace without the instruction of the senate exceeded his powers. After all, treaties are as often mere acknowledgments of a pressing necessity as they are moral obligations.

Of course Livy wishes us to contrast the conduct of the consuls and the tribunes of the plebs. But, however we take it, it is obvious that the story is more or less garbled.

l. 330. **ad extremum**, 'finally.'

l. 332. **interea**, 'meanwhile, till this question is settled.'

l. 333. **salva religione,** 'without violation of conscience.' Cf. 'salvo eo ut,' 'with this reservation that.'

l. 336. **intercalatae.** Lit. 'inserted,' hence 'deferred,' 'put off.' Translate, 'In order that they may have this in lieu of interest for a payment which will then have been so long deferred.'

l. 337. **quod,** 'as regards the fact that.' The rest of the sentence depends on 'ignoret,' and is put out of its place in order to bring 'id' nearer to its relative clause. 'Who is so ignorant of fetial law as not to know that these fellows say that, rather for fear of being surrendered than because the facts are so?'

l. 340. **infitias** ('in-fateor'), 'denial.' Lit. 'Nor do I go for denial.'

patres conscripti, 'Fathers and elect, or Assembled Fathers.' 'Conscripti' refers to the new senators added at the reorganization of the senate. So possibly 'socii nomen Latinum'; 'the allies *and* the Latin name.'

l. 341. **iuxta** ('iungo'), 'next to.'

l. 343. **posse,** &c., 'can be so ratified as to be binding on the people.'

an. See note on l. 164.

l. 344. **expresserunt.** See l. 279.

l. 346. **nuncupare** ('nomine-capere'), 'recite.' Translate, 'Or do you mean to say that, if they had shown the same harshness in wringing that pledge from you, in forcing you to go through the form of capitulation of a city, you, tribunes of the plebs, would now be saying that the Roman people had been surrendered?' Notice 'coegissent,' of the unfulfilled condition in the past; 'diceretis,' of the unfulfilled result, the chance of which is now past, though the time is still continuing.

l. 352. **di.** Sc. 'dent.'

l. 354. **in omnia.** A variation for 'in omnibus'; 'in every direction,' for 'in every point.'

l. 357. **legatos.** See note on l. 182.

l. 360. **erat** and **mandaveratis.** Notice the indicative. Postumius wishes to state what he says as a fact, acknowledged by everybody, himself included. Translate, 'And let no one ask me now, why I made a pledge as consul, though it was not the consul's business, nor could I agree to a peace with them, which I knew it was not in my power to make, nor for you, who I confess had given me no such commission.'

mei arbitrii, 'within my powers,' or 'competence.'

l. 363. It would perhaps be impossible to find an adequate parallel to the iniquity of the exculpation offered. It throws a strong light

on the uses to which religion could be put among the Romans, and that a man of Livy's genius and culture should venture upon it, indicates what Roman 'gravitas' was really worth.

l. 364. **nec** followed by 'et,' as before, l. 147.

l. 365. When **dum** denotes what happens while (and so because) something else happens, it usually takes the present, even in past time. 'Whilst they scarce dared to trust the very scene of their victory, but hastened to disarm,' &c.

l. 367. **an.** Here again notice that 'an' really gives the second side of a double question, being practically equivalent to 'Unless you are prepared to assent.'

si sana mens fuisset. We may supply—'if they knew with what dishonest villains they were dealing.'

l. 368. **fuit.** For indicative in apodosis, compare Hor. Od. ii. 17. 27:

'Me truncus illapsus cerebro
Sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum
Dextra levasset.'

dum, 'in the same time that.' Contrast with use of 'dum,' l. 365.

accersunt. 'Arcesso,' 'capesso,' 'lacesso,' 'petesso,' 'quaero,' all form their perfect in '-sivi.' They are probably desideratives, like *δρασείω*.

l. 370. See note on l. 207.

l. 372. **certam,** 'no longer doubtful.'

ea demum . . . spopondissemus, 'then only there was likely to have been a pledge, to which we should have pledged our words with the consent of the people.'

l. 374. **nec fas fuit,** 'nor was it ordained.' He wishes to convince his audience that the gods had so arranged matters that the oaths sworn in their name should be null and void.

l. 375. **laetiore,** 'too enchanting for their minds to grasp.'

l. 377. **eadem,** i. e. the impulsive movements of the enemy.

l. 378. **vanam,** 'illusory.'

l. 381. **appellare** (cf. l. 425), 'to summons,' 'have a case against.'

l. 385. **Samnitibus . . . rei . . . animos,** 'to the Samnites we are bound by oath, as debtors quite able to discharge our debt regarding that which is ours to pay, that for which we are fairly responsible, our own bodies and lives.'

l. 386. **reus.** Compare, 'voti reus,' 'bound by my vow.'

'Reus dictus est a re, quam promisit ac debet.
Reus promittendo est qui suo nomine alteri quid pro altero promisit.'

locuples, 'wealthy,' 'trustworthy.' Cf. 'locuples testis.'

in id, as 'in omnia,' l. 354; for 'sponsores' implies 'obligatio.'

l. 387. For this sense of **praestare** compare Cic. de Or. 2. 28

'Impetus populi praestare nemo potest,' 'No one can be held answerable for the outbreaks of the people.'

l. 389. **praesens**, 'immediate.'

l. 391. **luendae sponsioni.** The MSS. here have the genitive, but as that could not depend on 'capita' or 'feramus,' being only used after the verb 'sum,' Madvig reads the dative. Compare iii. 5. 14 'His avertendis terroribus feriae indictae,' and such expressions as 'decemviri legibus scribendis,' 'curator muris reficiundis.' But 'concordia dissolvendae tribuniciae potestatis est,' v. 5.

l. 393. **causa** (cf. 'causor,' the French *causer*), 'subject of speech.' Some derive it from 'caveo,' as a passive participle feminine, like noxa' from 'noceo.'

l. 394. **ut . . . fore potestate**, 'that they would submit to.' 'Esse,' 'habere,' and 'res' are words which can only be translated with close reference to the context. Their general use illustrates the simplicity of the Latin language, which prefers such words to more complex expressions.

l. 395. Compare with **extemplo** ('ex tempore') 'coram,' probably for c'oram = κατ' ὄμμα, 'co'minus (manus),' 'illico (in loco).'

l. 397. **quaedam**, used to express a figure. 'A kind of light seemed to have dawned upon the state.' Cf. 'prima spes affulsit.'

l. 398. **in ore**, elsewhere with the word 'omnium'; 'in everybody's mouth.' Cf. 'volito vivu' per ora virum.'

l. 400. For **aequabant eum devotioni**, compare Cic. 'Oratio cum maioribus nostris conferenda.' Notice the oratio obliqua with the verb of saying omitted.

obnoxius, declared guilty and brought up for punishment: idiomatically, 'at the mercy of,' as in line 195.

l. 403. Compare x. 8. 10 'En unquam fando audistis?' It must always be borne in mind that the questions which in the oratio directa occur in the indicative are expressed obliquely by the acc. with inf. if the first or third person was employed in the directa. So 'An quicquam superbius esse?' But 'Cur progrederentur?' 'Why are you advancing?'

The fact is that, as Dr. Abbott remarks, § 78 *a*, p. 101 of his *Latin Prose*, questions asked about oneself or about an absent person are very often asked not for information but to express emotion. Hence perhaps the difference between indirect questions with the second person on the one hand, and the first and third on the other.

l. 406. **voluntariorum.** Part of the predicate. Translate, 'There was a fresh levy and nearly all re-enlisted as volunteers.'

rescriptae entered again on the album or register.

l. 407. **ad Caudium.** Cf. l. 37, n.

l. 408. Livy here uses his paints freely, in order to popularize his story more perfectly.

l. 410. **Postumii.** 'Postumium' would be better Latin, as 'vincio' requires an object. But it is better to keep it as Livy has expressed it. Translate, 'When the officer from respect to the consul's rank began to bind his cords loosely.'

quin ('qui non'). 'Why do you not draw to ("ad") the knot, in order that the surrender may be complete?' Cp. 'quin tu,' in l. 422.

l. 413. **quandoque**, 'since.'

hisce = 'his-ce,' 'his' being an old form of the nominative plural; so 'magistreis' is found for 'magistri.'

l. 414. **Quiritium**, not in apposition to 'populi.' 'The Roman commonwealth and the Quirites.' So too 'patres conscripti,' with 'et' understood.

l. 415. See 400, n. 'Have committed a crime,' 'have been guilty of a fault.' **ob eam rem, quo** = 'to the intent that.'

l. 419. Childish as this farce may seem to us, and fanatical as Livy must have been not to have felt shame at the contrast in the Roman and the Samnite, yet the word 'civem' can only be explained by the fact that equal rights of citizenship had been established between the Romans and Samnites; that consequently Postumius on going into exile assumed the franchise of the Caudini. Arnold explains it, that the Caudini were now responsible for his actions as for those of their slaves, and, having no special treaty with the Romans, could not make Rome appeal to negotiation for redress of such a grievance. But this ignores 'civem.' The Samnites had not accepted the surrender of the sponsores; Postumius is putting his own construction on the matter. He assumes that the surrender makes war 'just' for the Romans, and attempts to make it more just by this attack on the fetial. Pontius naturally saw the matter in another light.

l. 421. **istam.** 'De me loquens dicere debeo hoc caput, haec manus, haec civitas. De te vero istud caput, ista manus, ista civitas. De tertia autem persona illud caput, illa manus, illa civitas. Cicero in Antonium: Tu istis faucibus. Et idem: Qui istinc veniunt aiunt te superbiorem factum.'

Practically we find that 'hic' and 'iste' are opposed, as 'I' and 'you,' and 'hic' and 'ille,' as 'near' and 'distant.' And so in reference to things previously mentioned, 'ille' denotes the former or more distant, 'hic' the latter or nearer particular. So again in special usage: 'Tu si *hic* sis aliter sentias,' 'Were you in *my* place you would think otherwise.' In lawsuits *iste*, 'the man before you,' i.e. before the 'iudices,' is the opponent: hence used with a certain contempt: *ille*, on the other hand, indicates a person so striking as to attract our attention in spite of distance. In all these usages 'hic,' 'iste,' 'ille' correspond to *ὅδε*, *οὗτος*, *ἐκεῖνος* respectively.

l. 424. **pro**, 'instead of.'

l. 425. **appello**. Cf. l. 381, n.

l. 429. **deceperit**, 'let there be no fraud practised on either party.'

l. 431. **sua**, i. e. theirs for better or for worse,—their camp if they can call it their own.

l. 432. **tum . . . repudietur**, 'then let them vote their war and valiant measures, then let them repudiate their agreements and ratified peace.'

l. 433. **repudio** ('pes, pudio' = 'strike with the foot'). Compare 'tripudium,' 'a measured stamping,' 'a religious dance.'

'Gaudet invisam pepulisse fossor
Ter pede terram.' Hor. Od. iii. 18. 15.

l. 436. **nunquamne . . . stetis?** 'Will there never be an excuse wanting for you to break an engagement when beaten?'

l. 441. **aliquam**, as always, refers here to a special case; 'some one or other.' See note on l. 159.

l. 443. **pacem sibi habeat**, 'let it keep the peace in its own possession.' It may take the peace and make the best of it, if it will put the legions where they were before.

'Accipe et istud
Fermentum tibi habe.' Juv. iii. 188.

l. 445. **quidem**, 'Is it then your idea of international law, that?' &c.

l. 449. **dedi arbitror**, 'regard as surrendered.' He implies that two parties are necessary for a surrender, and that till the surrender is complete, the Romans cannot act as if it were.

moror, quo minus, 'I prevent . . . from,' 'offer any obstacle to.'

l. 450. **obligatam sponsione commissa**, 'put under an obligation (to discharge its part) by the carrying out of the agreement (by the other side).' Pontius says: 'You are welcome to go back under the curse of all the gods whom you have mocked into your state which has still to fulfil its share of the engagement.'

l. 452. **quando**, not 'on the grounds that,' but 'for it is quite true that.'

modo, 'just now.'

l. 453. **ita**, 'no doubt you will persuade the gods.' See l. 419, n. for 'civem.'

l. 456. **non pudere**, exclamatory infinitive; 'to think that you are not ashamed,' &c. Compare 'Te ista fide in tantas aerumnas incidisse.'

l. 457. **fallendae**. See l. 391, n.

l. 458. **moratus sit**, perfect. Translate, 'Let no one detain them from going away at their pleasure.' See l. 428 'nemo quemquam deceperit.'

IV. FRESH APPEAL TO MIGHT.

The Roman government had thus reaped all the advantages of the treaty of Caudium, but refused to fulfil its conditions. In such a case either the legions ought to have been replaced in their desperate position, or some compromise, at any rate, ought to have been offered which the Samnites could have accepted. But, whether owing to the fanaticism of Roman national feeling, or to the want of perseverance which the Samnites always show in their negotiations, neither of these alternatives was adopted. A fresh appeal is made to the god of war, and he decides for the stronger. Nothing can be more complete than the Roman successes as recorded here by Livy.

l. 460. **forsitan . . . fide,** 'possibly released from all national, at any rate from all private, obligation.'

l. 461. **ab.** Cf. l. 236, n.

Samnitibus must be construed as subject. 'The Samnites, feeling that, &c., not only imagined all the subsequent events in their minds, but almost saw them with their eyes, and only too late came to praise either of the old man's alternatives.'

l. 462. **infestus** (cp. 'manifestus,' 'festino'), old participle of 'infero,' distinguished from 'infensus,' as outward opposition is from inward unfriendliness. Cf. Liv. ii. 6 'In ipsum infestus consulem infenso animo concurrit.'

l. 465. **inter quae media.** Madvig thinks that 'to fall between the middle of two plans' is nonsense, and has very ingeniously restored 'via' before 'victoriae,' for 'media' to agree with. The similarity of letters makes it a very plausible suggestion. 'Inter medios hostes' is simple enough, where the expression is used of being in the midst of *one* body; cp. 'per medios hostes,' and so 'medio tutissimus ibis' of passing between two bodies, but the combination 'inter media' referring to two distinct objects is unusual.

l. 468. **potuerint.** Translate, 'Whom they might either have swept away for ever as foes or have secured for ever as friends.'

l. 469. **inclinatis,** 'made to totter,' 'impaired.'

l. 470. **mutaverant,** intransitive.

l. 472. **geri posse bellum,** 'the possibility of war.' The pupil should notice every means for avoiding abstract words in Latin prose. In the minds of the Romans the mere possibility of war was equivalent to certain victory.

l. 473. **simul.** Translate, 'The Samnites thought that to the Romans the renewal of war was the same thing as victory.'

l. 475. Compare l. 49, n. Mommsen thinks the following events historical: Niebuhr regards them as invented in order to conceal the fact of

the recovery of the hostages by the ratification of the peace: Dr. Arnold regards them as the invention of national vanity.

l. 475. **consules**, the whole, is in apposition to 'Papirius' and 'Publilius,' the parts. Compare *Public School Grammar*, § 122 (6). 'Duae filiae altera occisa, altera capta est,' Caesar, B. G. i. 53.

l. 476. **Luceria** was the fatal town which had tempted the consuls of the last year to rush blindly into the defile of Caudium. We must understand that the Samnites had taken it, though Livy nowhere expressly says so.

l. 478. **Caudinas legiones**, i.e. the Samnite legions which had been victorious at Caudium.

l. 479. **nec . . . satis audebant**, 'they could not thoroughly make up their minds.'

l. 488. **urgentes**, 'driving before them.'

l. 491. **abiiciunt**, 'throw away altogether.' This is opposed to 'emittunt,' which would imply that they waited to take aim.

l. 492. **ordinibus**, 'ranks.'

subsidiis, 'reserves.'

l. 495. **impedire.** Madvig suggests 'inhibere.' But the word seems capable of explanation, and perhaps we can translate, 'Not even daring to run the risk of entangling their flight as they passed through their camp, they made their way in straggling detachments to Apulia.'

Apuliam. This is extravagant. A disorderly march to a foreign country so far off is absurd.

l. 498. **plus sanguinis ac caedis.** And yet the Samnites had abandoned the camp!

l. 500. L. Papirius Cursor is one of the favourite heroes of Roman tradition: his swiftness of foot, his strength, his capacities for food, and the iron strictness of his discipline, accompanied by occasional touches of rough humour, made him as popular as Richard Cœur de Lion. His line of march was obviously through the Vestini and along the coast of the Adriatic. How Publilius reached Apulia, Livy does not state clearly.

l. 501. **Arpos.** Between Luceria and the Adriatic.

l. 503. **vicatim**, 'in open hamlets'; *κατὰ κώμας.*

campestria . . . depopulabantur. Translate, 'Despised the less manly race of husbandmen who, as often happens, had become like the regions they cultivated (i.e. 'mollis,' an epithet which might be applied to cultivated soil), and whilst they themselves lived a hardy field life in the mountains, used to lay waste the plains and the coast.' The chief branch of the Umbrian stock had migrated East from Sabina into the Abruzzi mountains. Here they occupied mountainous districts, whose

thin population gave easy way before them; whilst in the plain along the coast, the ancient native population, the Iapygians, maintained their ground in a state of constant feud.

l. 508. **penuria** is ablative after 'absumpsisset,' and 'exclusos a commeatibus' is explanative of 'penuria absumere.'

l. 509. **tum quoque**, 'as it was,' i. e. in spite of its being loyal to the Romans.

l. 510. **iuxta**, 'equally.'

l. 512. **exigue**, 'scantily,' derived from 'exigo.'

l. 513. **folliculis**, 'small sacks.'

l. 515. **priusquam**, i. e. till the arrival of the second consul after his victories.

l. 518. **delegata**, 'having been assigned,' 'made over.'

l. 519. **infesta**. Cf. l. 462, n.

l. 521. **contractis**, 'concentrating.'

l. 522. **signa conferre**, 'to set themselves in order against.'

l. 524. Tarentum, the Athens of Italy, which sixty years ago had shocked Plato with the aspect of its Dionysia and burlesque, was at this time governed by a democracy whose demagogues oscillated between the grandest spirit of enterprise and the most whimsical frivolity of self-exaltation. Their interference now could only mean that they at last saw that the policy of Rome, 'divide et impera,' must lead to their conquest of Italy in detail; that they could no longer depend on their navy alone; and were prepared to make common cause with the grand infantry of Pontius. Had they adhered to this policy, this Samnite Hannibal might have anticipated the Carthaginians with success.

l. 525. **per utros**, &c. 'Adding that whichever side should declare against a cessation of arms, against them they would fight on the side of the other party.'

stetisset is here the subjunctive of the future perfect.

l. 527. **perinde ac . . . eorum**, 'pretending to attach importance to what they said.'

l. 529. **collocutus . . . dubia**, 'after consulting with him on a matter where there could be but one opinion.'

l. 530. **signum pugnae**, sc. a scarlet cloak.

l. 534. **pullarius**. When all around seemed favourable, either at dawn or in the evening, this functionary opened the cage and threw pulse to the chickens. If they ate greedily, the omens were good. If they had been starved previously, the omens were called 'coacta.'

litatum . . . egregie, 'added to that, the sacrifice was most satisfactory.'

l. 536. **vanissimam . . . censeret**, 'railing at so frivolous a state, which, unable to manage its own affairs in consequence of its constant

troubles, actually claimed to dictate to others the proper seasons of war and peace.'

l. 537. **prae** (*παρά*), of a preventing cause = 'in view of.' Cf. 'Prae lacrimis loqui non possum.'

l. 539. **aequum censeret** = *ἀξιῶ*, 'claim.'

l. 543. **in auctoritate manere**, 'accept the pleasure of.' For the string of infinitives, compare note on l. 193.

l. 544. **deceptos . . . videantur**, 'declaring that they would rather be deceived and bear the result, whatever it might be, than seem to have flouted the peaceful advice of Tarentum.'

l. 552. **exulceratos**, 'smarting.'

l. 554. For this idea compare Virgil, Aen. ix. 150, where Turnus addresses the Trojans—

'Tenebras et inertia furta
Palladii, caesis summae custodibus arcis,
Ne timeant; nec equi caeca condemur in alvo;
Luce palam certum est igni circumdare muros;
Haud sibi cum Danais rem faxo et pube Pelasga
Esse putent, decumum quos distulit Hector in annum.'

l. 561. Cf. l. 462, n. Translate, 'To check their sullen discontent on account of the interruption of their rage, which they found so sweet.'

l. 563. **militum**, 'of the common soldiers.' 'Mile,' a thousand, only means a large number, a crowd, and 'milites' = those who go in a large body. Mommsen, however, explains 'miles' as 'thousand-goer.' Each gens had ten houses, each curia or wardship had ten gentes, and ten curiae formed the community, of which every house had to furnish one footsoldier ('miles').

l. 566. **desperata venia**, 'despair of obtaining quarter.'

l. 567. **pereo**, 'I go through,' i.e. disappear. 'Perdo,' 'I put through,' i.e. annihilate. Compare 'intereo,' 'interficio'; 'veneo,' 'vendo.'

l. 568. **obviam ire**, 'to resist.'

l. 569. When 'ante,' 'citius,' or **potius quam** is used to denote what is to be guarded against, it is followed by the conjunctive, since the action is considered as not taking place: as

'Ante leves ergo pascentur in aethere cervi
. . . . . .
Quam nostro illius labatur pectore vultus.' Virg. E. i. 60.

Translate, 'Everything must be borne rather than risk the lives of so many of the flower of the Roman youth.'

l. 571. **contio** ('conventio'), 'the general meeting of soldiers.' 'Consilium,' as often in Caesar, 'a council of war.'

l. 577. **respondit**. Translate, 'Soon made his achievements answer to their expectation.'

l. 580. **ut**, 'proposing that.'

When an observation is appended to an idea already defined, the relative agrees with the following substantive; as 'Thebae, quod caput Boeotiae.' When, however, the idea is only defined by the relative clause, the relative is generally regulated by the antecedent; as, 'Flumen, quod appellatur Tamesis.' In this place qui agrees with the antecedent, as it makes it clear what 'equites' they were, and why their surrender should terminate the siege. Translate, 'On the surrender of *those* knights who were the cause.'

l. 582. **debuisse**. 'Debebam' and 'debui' are used instead of the pluperfect conjunctive to express a more unconditional obligation. And 'debuisse' is here oblique for 'debuistis.' Translate, 'Your duty was to have consulted.'

l. 584. **ab hostibus . . . maluerint**, 'fair terms to be laid down for them by the enemy rather than that they should propose them themselves to their own hurt.' For this use of 'fero,' compare 'fero legem.'

l. 594. **haud . . . victoria**, 'there is scarcely another victory more marked for sudden reverse of fortune.'

l. 595. **si quidem**. Translate, 'At any rate if this is also true,' &c.

l. 598. Did not Livy feel a momentary twinge of conscience as he described the treatment of this generous hero and educated philosopher, beaten by the inexorable fate of Rome's future in the world, or to speak more plainly, by the flagrant dishonesty of the Roman senate and commander?

l. 599. **id . . . ambigi**, 'it is more curious that there should be any doubt on this point.'

l. 603. **haud**, &c., 'I almost think the most complete triumph next to Camillus.' The two triumphs, indeed, may well be compared with one another, says Dr. Arnold; both are equally glorious, and both also are either wholly or in part the inventions of national vanity. L. Cornelius Lentulus, being of a very powerful family, had the same victories ascribed to him. Luceria having been only just taken was not a very likely place for the Samnites to store their most precious trophies in.

l. 606. **error**, 'uncertainty.'

l. 616. **crurum**. This is Madvig's emendation for 'virium vi.' Translate, 'And they say that he beat all his contemporaries in running, either from the natural strength of his legs or from frequent exercise, at the same time that he had immense powers of eating and drinking.'

l. 617. **nec cum ullo . . . equitique**. 'Nor was service with any one ever subject to more iron discipline, whether for infantry or cavalry.'

l. 622. **utique**, 'by all means.'

l. 626. **inambulans**, 'pacing to and fro.'

l. 627. An adjective gains force by preceding the substantive: thus,

'Alexander Magnus' = 'Alexander known as Magnus,' treating it simply as a well-known name. 'Magnus Alexander,' or, more distinctly, 'Magnus ille Alexander,' calls attention to the attribute of greatness. 'Mors tui fratris' = 'the *death* of your brother'; 'fratris tui mors,' 'the death of your *brother*.'

l. 632. **quin**, 'nay.' The interrogative force is lost in this use, and so also is the relative force; for 'quin' = 'qui non' may be connected with 'quis' or with 'qui.' 'Destinant animis' should be taken together; 'animis' = imagination, for as a fact Papirius and Alexander did not meet.

THE END.

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